BULL PLANTATION, PRINCE WILLIAMS PARISH, BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 322

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ABSTRACT

This study reports on a reconnaissance level survey of several archaeological sites, representing different components of the William Bull Plantation on what is today known as the Prescott Plantation in Beaufort County, South Carolina. The tract, about 725 acres in size, contains the core of William Bull's 3,000 acre plantation acquired in 1727 from Thomas Lowndes. The property is situated on the northeast side of S-21, the Old Sheldon Church Road, about 0.8 mile north of its junction with US 17. The portion of the plantation examined includes high ground tracts on both sides of the Huspah Creek rice fields.

The plantation is situated in Prince Williams Parish, created in 1745. This is an area which has received far less attention than the larger and more wealthy parishes, such as St. Luke's and St. Helena. While there were many small planters in the area, there were also exceedingly large — and wealthy — plantation owners. First acquired and settled by Governor William Bull, the plantation focused on rice production and was the source of much of Bull's great wealth. It was passed to his grandson, Stephen Bull, in 1755. There is evidence that the plantation remained in the Bull family through the American Revolution, but at some point in the antebellum it was acquired by Thomas Fuller, Sr. The tract, through to include about 1,800 acres at the time, produced only 600 pounds of rice, but 145 bales of cotton — suggesting a shift in agricultural production. In 1860 there were 143 African American slaves working on the Fuller plantation. The Fuller family held the plantation through the Civil War, with the tract eventually passing out of family hands in 1904.

This study has identified the original Bull settlement, a carefully arranged Georgian complex of brick buildings which includes a main plantation house, two flankers, and at least one additional brick building. Also present was a brick-lined well, and likely additional frame buildings. Bull's plantation was elaborate and well laid out, clearly revealing the Governor's wealth, power, and social prestige. This site, designated 38BU1907, has been examined through shovel testing and the excavation of several small test units. The artifacts reveal a range of eighteenth and nineteenth century remains — documenting that the settlement continued to be used by the Fuller family at least through the Civil War.

Also examined is what appears to be an antebellum overseer's house, 38BU1908, almost a mile east of the original Bull residence. Less than 500 feet away is what appears to be an African American slave settlement, 38BU1909, bounded on one side by rice fields, on two other sides by low lands probably cultivated in cotton, and on the final side by the overseer's settlement.

Finally, our investigations reveal the location of two African American cemeteries. 38BU1910 is physically so close to the slave settlement that it seems almost certain to have been used at least to the antebellum. It may have been replaced by a second cemetery, 38BU1911. This latter cemetery is not situated next to the rice fields, as many low country African American cemeteries are, but is situated in the middle of a cultivated field. It contains graves dating from the last third of the twentieth century.

While there are certainly additional sites on Prescott Plantation — and these reported sites are known only on the basis of limited investigations — it is almost certain that they are, as a group, eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The plantation provides a rare, and uniquely preserved, glimpse of plantation lifeways for the Prince Williams Parish. It allows an examination of how the wealth elite of South Carolina operated their working plantations

during the colonial period, and how these plantations were transformed from rice into cotton during the antebellum.

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INTRODUCTION

Chicora Foundation was contacted by Mr. Robert Minis in the summer of 2000 and told about a well preserved and potentially very important archaeological site he owned in the Sheldon area of Beaufort County. He was interested in learning more about the site — which he already knew was the plantation of South Carolina's William Bull — and, in particular, ensuring that the site was protected. It took quite a while, but eventually I was able to tour the site on December 7, 2001. I was "suitably impressed." There were a variety of well preserved sites, several with extensive brick ruins, all just off a major road and in the midst of a very historic portion of Beaufort County. What was perhaps most impressive is that the site was largely protected.

Unlike many resources in the low country of South Carolina, this site was not threatened by development — Mr. Minis plans no docks, no housing project, no retail frontage. In fact, the only threat from Mr. Minis was continued land management activities — and these cannot really be considered threatening since they have been ongoing for at least the past 100 years.

Of far greater concern was the threat posed by trespassing vandals, individuals who were looting different components of the sites. During my visit I found a partially looted well, with broken ceramics and glass scattered densely around the feature (Figure 1). Also identified were a number of small grub holes — evidence of metal detecting.

Afterwards we made additional plans — which Mr. Minis generously supported — to first conduct historic research and then visit the site again to carry out some initial archaeological investigations. Our goal throughout was not to engage in any sort of data recovery activities — as explained, except for the looting, the site was safe. Rather, our goal was to explore the site to better understand its components, arrangement, and scale. Ultimately, the goal was to help Mr. Minis better understand this unique resource and help him better care for the property.

Figure 1. View of looted well showing bottles discarded on the ground.

This study was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley, with the assistance of Ms. Nicole Southerland and Mr. Tom Covington on February 20 and 21, 2001. While the initial visit was only one day, the subsequent field investigations required a total of six person days, or 48 person hours.

Setting

The property is today known as Prescott Plantation and is situated in what historically was Prince William Parish. It is located in the northern part of Beaufort County, about 0.8 mile northeast of Gardens Corner (the junction of S-21 and S-17) (Figure 2). Historical research reveals that the modern tract consists of approximately 725 acres of the 3,000 acre plantation once belonging to Governor William Bull during the eighteenth century.

Physiography

The tract at first glance appears to consist of fairly level land, some open, but much more forested. The topography is broken by Huspa Creek, which flows just west of the sites being examined, leading southward to Whale Branch. Further west is the Pocotaligo, while to the northeast and east is the Combahee. In fact, what is perhaps most pronounced about the area — especially when a topographic map is consulted — is that the area actually consists of a variety of "islands" interspersed among tidal creeks and marshes. The area is actually anything but level, with elevations ranging from around 5 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) to over 25 feet AMSL. These little "islands" were historically surrounded by rice fields and often served as lands used not only for the cultivation of subsistence crops (or later sea island cotton), but also as the dry spots occupied by slave and master alike.

Prescott Plantation, therefore, is situated in South Carolina's Coastal Plain province. This area consists of the unconsolidated sands, clays, and soft limestones found from the fall line eastward to the Atlantic Ocean, an area of more than 20,000 square miles or about two-thirds of the State (Cooke 1936:1-3). Elevations range from just above sea level on the coast and up to 21 feet at the top of the highest beach ridges on the island, to about 600 feet AMSL adjacent to the Piedmont province.

The coastal plain is drained by three large through-flowing rivers — the Pee Dee, Santee, and Savannah — as well as by numerous smaller rivers and streams, such as the Huspa, Pocotaligo, and Combahee, all flowing southward to the Broad River and Port Royal Sound, or the St. Helena Sound.

It was the coastal environment itself which attracted the greatest interest among the initial explorers and settlers. The number and size of the estuaries attracted attention. Sailing into the Broad River, a vessel would disappear over the horizon. Tides were found to rise and fall, on average, more than 7 feet, making the coast difficult to navigate using only oars. Shoals required larger boats to often go out to sea. The salt water marshes seemed to be everywhere (even today South Carolina contains 25% of the salt marshes on the east coast). All of these factors combined to isolate the sea islands — and many of the plantations or settlements built on them.

It is useful to compare the eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations which developed along and among the islands and estuaries of the low country to those isolated island worlds discussed by historian Fernand Braudel who observed that they "make up a coherent human environment in so far as similar pressures are exerted upon them, marking them both far ahead and far behind the general history of the sea: pressures that may divide them, often brutally, between the two opposite poles of archaism and innovation" (Braudel 1972:1:149-150). Isolated, the plantations which developed were archaic in nature, exhibiting in the words of Peter Coclanis "rudimentary extraction and plunder" economies (Coclanis 1989:58). Yet this same isolation allowed, on these same islands, the culture and way of life to be preserved, along with its dress, customs, and even language, of the African Americans who made the world for which

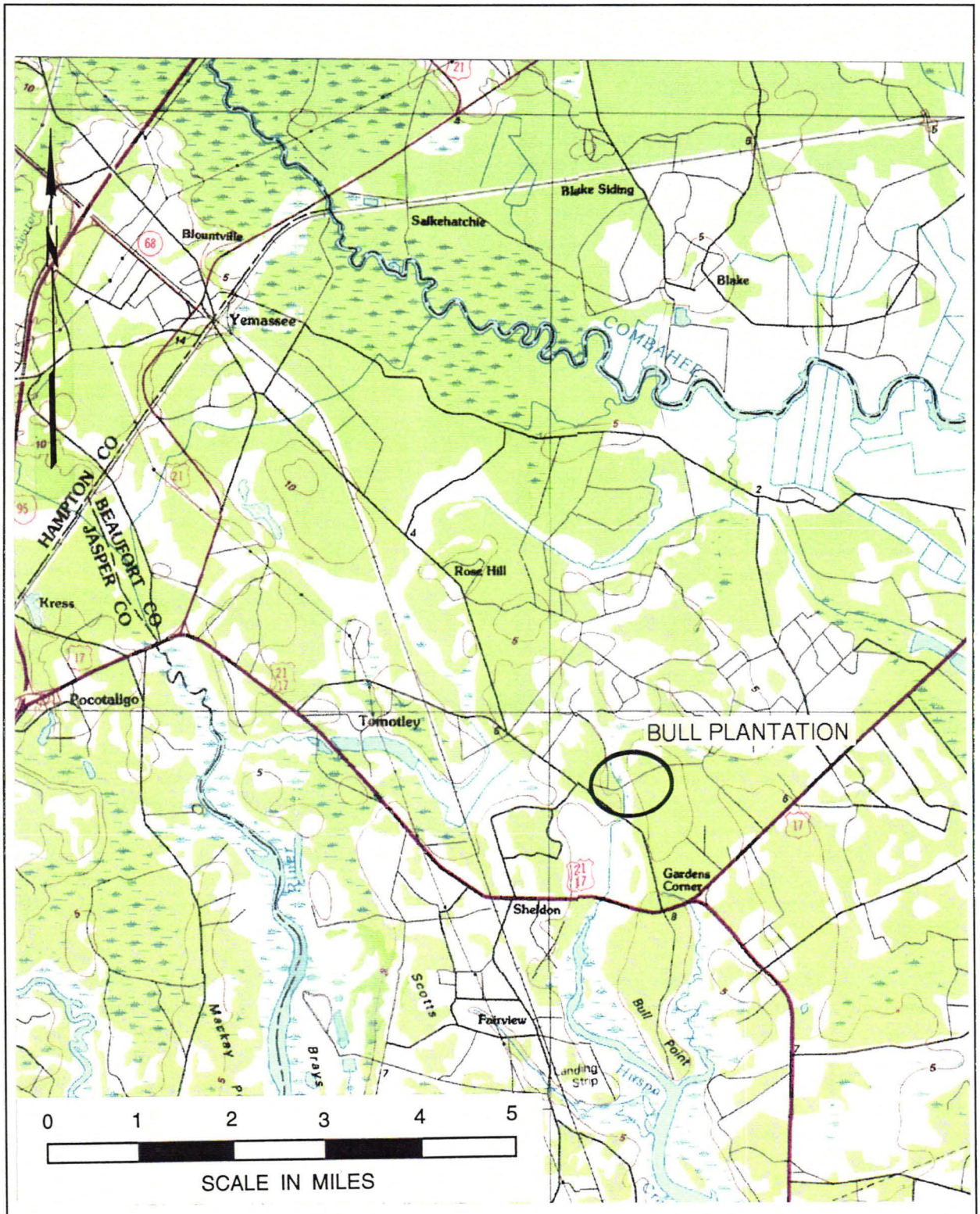

Figure 2. Project vicinity in Beaufort County (basemap is USGS Walterboro 1:100,000).

individuals such as William Bull have received credit.

The Role of Climate

Coclanis also warns historians that while there is no factor more important than the climate for shaping Carolina's history, there is far more to "climate" than the weather (Coclanis 1989:31). For example, the citing of means, highs, and lows, ignores that climate changes, even over short periods. And it is these changes which often affect the success or failure of individual plantation owners. Crops may wither or be washed away. Slaves may drown or die of climate-induced disease.

On the broadest level, South Carolina's low country is classified as humid, mild-winter temperate. More specifically, it may be described as humid subtropical. And even more specificity allows us to note that it lacks, at least historically, distinctive wet and dry seasons.

The major climatic controls of the area are latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. There are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a maritime climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Landers 1970:2-3; Mathews et al. 1980:46).

Maximum daily temperatures in the summer tend to be near or above 90°F and the minimum daily temperatures tend to be about 68°F. The summer water temperatures average 83°F. The abundant supply of warm, moist and relatively unstable air produces frequent scattered showers and thunderstorms in the summer. Winter has average daily maximum and minimum temperatures of 63°F and 38°F respectively. Precipitation is in the form of rain associated with fronts and cyclones; snow is uncommon (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1-2).

The average yearly precipitation is 49.1 inches, with 34 inches occurring from April through October, the growing season for most low country crops. The area has approximately 285 frost free days annually (Janiskee and Bell 1980:1). This mild climate, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

While the temperatures throughout the area are not extreme, the relative humidity is frequently high enough to produce muggy conditions in the summer and dank conditions in the winter. Relative humidity ranges from about 63-89% in the summer to 58-83% in the winter. The highest relative humidity occurs in the morning and as the temperature increases, the humidity tends to decline (Mathews et al. 1980:46).

In the early nineteenth century the Beaufort climate was described as "one of the healthiest" (Mills 1826:377), although Thomas Chaplin's antebellum journal describing life at nearby Tombee Plantation on St. Helena Island presents an entirely different picture (Rosengarten 1987). In 1864 Charlotte Forten wrote that "yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent, and that, indeed the manufacture of coffins was the only business that was at all flourishing (Forten 1864:588). Even a cursory review of death certificates for the 1920s reveals that the low country was still a foreboding place. Brights disease, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and malaria were all more common causes of death than "old age."

The coastal area is at a moderately high risk of tropical storms, with 169 hurricanes being documented from 1686 through 1972 (Mathews et al. 1980:56). The last Category 5 hurricane which hit this area was the August 27, 1893 storm which had winds of 120 miles per hour and a storm surge of 17 to 19.5 feet. Over 1,000 people in South Carolina were reported killed by this storm (Mathews et al. 1980:55). Other notable historic storms have occurred in 1700, 1752, 1804, 1813, and 1885.

Soils and Vegetation

While affected by climate, soils and vegetation are both equally impacted by humans. The precise roll played by human interaction of course varies by time and place. Nevertheless, we must understand simple descriptions as reflecting a broad range of interactions.

The coastal region is covered in sands and clays originally derived from the Appalachian Mountains and which are organized into coastal, fluvial, and aeolian deposits. These were transported to the coast during the Quaternary period and were deposited on bedrock of the Mesozoic Era and Tertiary period. These sedimentary bedrock formations are only occasionally exposed on the coast, although they frequently outcrop along the fall line (Mathews et al. 1980:2). The bedrock in the Beaufort area is below a level of 1,640 feet (Smith 1933:21).

The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar terraces parallel to the coast. These terraces have elevations ranging from 215 feet down to sea level. The terraces, representing previous sea floors, were apparently formed at high stands of the fluctuating, though falling, Atlantic Ocean and consist chiefly of sand and clay (Cooke 1936). More recently, research by Colquhoun (1969) has refined the theory of formation processes, suggesting a more complex origin involving both erosional and depositional processes operating during marine transgressions and regressions.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the Sea Islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of salt water during high tide. These organic soils usually have two distinct layers. The top few inches are subject to aeration as well as leaching and therefore are a dark brown color. The lower levels, however, consist of reduced compounds resulting from decomposition of organic compounds and are black. The pH of these marsh soils is neutral to slightly alkaline (Mathews et al. 1980:39-44).

The Sheldon area of Beaufort county is in the Bladen-Coosaw-Wahee association which generally have poorly drained and somewhat poorly drained soils with a loamy surface and clayey subsoil, typical of inland soils, or a sandy surface layer and loamy subsoil, more common toward the coast (Stuck 1980).

Within this broad association, six different soil series are found in the examined areas of Prescott Plantation and several more series are located on portions of the plantation not included in this brief examination. The bulk of the main plantation settlement, to be discussed later, is found on Seabrook fine sands. These soils consist of a dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a light yellowish-brown (10YR6/3) fine sand to a depth of over 2.3 feet. The Seabrook soils are among some of the younger profiles, lacking a defined B horizon. But perhaps of greatest importance, these are relatively dry soils. During even the wettest times of the year, the water table is at least 2 feet (and often 4 feet) below the surface.

Also found in close proximity to the major dwellings are Coosaw loamy fine sands. The Coosaw soils often exhibit a plowed A horizon of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand about 0.6 foot in depth overlying a light brownish-gray (2.5YR6/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of over 2.2 feet. These soils are not quite as dry as the Seabrook Series and may have a water table within a foot of the surface during wet periods.

A final soil found around the various

Figure 3. Upland area showing old field.

settlements is Nemours fine sandy loams. These soils often consist of a plowed top layer of dark grayish-brown (10YR4/2) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.6 foot. Below this layer is a pale brown (10YR6/3) fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.8 foot. Below this, red (2.5YR4/6) clay makes up the subsoil. Perhaps most importantly, the Nemours soils are classified as moderately well drained, with the water table typically at least 1.5 foot below the surface during even the wettest times.

Much of the remainder of the plantation consists of Bladen fine sandy loams. These deep, poorly drained soils are found in the broad low flats of the low country. The soils have a surface layer of very dark gray (10YR3/1) sand over light grayish brown (2.5YR6/2) sand. The dark mottled colors are indicative of wet soils which are reduced in nature and, in fact, flooding of these soils is common. Moreover, during the wet season the water table may be at or only a foot below the ground surface.

Also found are small areas of Tomotley loamy fine sands and Santee fine sandy loams. The Tomotley soils, while also poorly drained and found on low flats, may also be found in shallow depressions. They, too, exhibit dark colors resulting from reduced soil chemistry and while flooding is rare, the soils often have a very shallow water table during wet times. Among the wettest soils are the Santee Series, which are found in drainages. These soils are often saturated with water and have a black fine sandy loam layer to a depth of 0.6 foot over a black clay which can occur to a depth of 1.3 feet.

Early settlers knew little about soil classification, except to observe that color — and its associated vegetation — was a predictor of fertility. Hence, the wet, lowland black soils were seen as rich and productive, while the light yellow sandy soils were seen as far less fertile.

This part of Beaufort County is considered to be in the Upland Ecosystem (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9). This type of ecosystem can be affected by fresh water or the forest and dunes located on barrier islands. In this case, Huspa Creek and the adjacent ricefields place this part of Beaufort County into the fresh water category.

The Upland areas, being more mesic or xeric, may contain communities of pine-mixed hardwoods, pine forests, mixed hardwoods, or oldfields (Sandifer et al. 1980:437). This survey area showed evidence of all four of these communities.

Robert Mills, discussing Beaufort District in the early nineteenth century, stated:

> besides a fine growth of pine, we have the cypress, red cedar, and live oak . . . white oak, red oak, and several other oaks, hickory, plum, palmetto, magnolia, poplar, beech, birch, ash, dogwood, black mulberry, etc. Of fruit trees we have the orange, sweet and sour, peach, nectarine, fig, cherry (Mills 1826:377).

He also cautioned, however, that "some parts of the district are beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" (Mills 1826:383) and suggested that at least a quarter of a plantation's acreage should be reserved for woods.

The Development of Rice

Rice and indigo both competed for the attention of Carolina planters. Although introduced at least by the 1690s, rice did not become a significant staple crop until the early eighteenth century. At that time it not only provided the proprietors with the economic base the mercantile system required, but it was also to form the basis of South Carolina's plantation system — slavery.

At first, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, rice was grown on inland swamps. It wasn't until the mid-eighteenth century, when slave labor became particularly abundant, that rice began to be grown in the swamps bordering the fresh-water tidal rivers and inland swamp cultivation was abandoned. The early planters had to solve two problems in inland swamp cultivation: first, they had to achieve adequate drainage and second, they had to find adequate water for irrigation.

By damming the lower end of a chosen swamp, the planter could prevent salt water from overflowing the fields. Gates, or trunks, were placed in this lower dam, allowing the water to be either held in the field, or drained off. The upper end was also dammed, in order to dry the area and allow it be cleared. Coupled with this effort would be the excavation of ditches and canals to help dry the fields and also to aid in their eventual flooding. Even further up the swamp, past the fields being cleared and prepared, the planter would create another dam — this one designed to create a reservoir of water to be used for irrigation.

It was this reservoir — or rather the unpredictable nature of the water supply that the reservoir sought to control — that ultimately pushed rice cultivation out of the swamps (Heyward 1993:12-14; Meriweather 1940; Sellars 1934).

The process of planting and tending inland swamp rice was in many ways different than tidal rice. Thomas Drayton noted the inland swamp rice was planted several weeks later than the tidal rice (usually first or second week in April), "as their soils are of colder nature" (Drayton 1802:117). Unlike tidal rice, which was flooded immediately after planting, inland swamp rice was rarely covered, since the planters didn't want to exhaust their reservoirs so early in the season. Instead, the rice was allowed to come up naturally. This, of course, created situations where the grain might rot in the ground. Alternatively, it might also be overgrown with grass and weeds, requiring extensive hoeing.

The inland swamp rice planter continued his slaves hoeing through the "branching" of the rice. Typically water was not applied to the fields until the rice began to "joint, blossom, and form the ear," usually in August, at which time "whenever it can be thrown on from rivers, or reservoirs, it is so done: and it is retained thereon, with a change of water, if convenient, until a few days before harvest" (Drayton 1802:119).

However different planting was, the collecting and processing seems identical for tidal and inland swamp rice. The process, according to Drayton, involved several steps:

> After harvest, the crop is placed

> in the open barn yards, either in stacks or in large ricks. It is then threshed out by hand-flails, on a level barn yard or floor, made of rammed clay, or of portions of sand and tar; and being winnowed from the straw, is ready for beating. This operation was formerly performed by manual labour, with a pestle and mortar; and is still so done, in some parts of the state (Drayton 1802:121-124).

Coclanis (1989:97) suggests that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century rice yields averaged around 1,000 pounds of clean rice per acre, although by the time of the American Revolution even inland swamp rice yields were upwards of 1,500 pounds per acre. Correspondingly, whereas James Glen, writing in 1748, explained that a good slave would produce about 2,250 pounds of rice, by the second half of the eighteenth century that figure had increased to 3,000 to 3,600 pounds yearly by an *average* worker.

During this period rice prices fluctuated from a low of 2.24 shillings sterling per hundredweight in 1746 to over 12 shillings sterling per hundredweight in 1772. In 1722 rice prices were at 5.17 shillings or about $30.06 per hundred pounds of cleaned rice in 1992 dollars. By 1734 the price had jumped to $50.26 (again in 1992 dollars per hundredweight), only to fall to about $36.58 by 1742 (Coclanis 1989:106).

During this same period African American male slaves typically sold for £250 currency, or about $4,120 in 1992 dollars (Donnan 1928:820). While there were fluctuations, this figure seems relatively stable for much of the colonial period. Even considering the very high prices paid for slave labor, during the period from 1740 through 1770, the annual net rates of return on investment in rice agriculture ranged from a low of about 13.5% to a high of 33.5% (Coclanis 1989:141).

These observations are sufficient to illustrate that rice and slaves were inseparable. And with rice and slavery came, to many, unbelievable wealth. Coclanis notes that:

> on the eve of the American Revolution, the white population of the low country was by far the richest single group in British North America. With the area's wealth based largely on the expropriation by whites of the golden rice and blue dye produced by black slaves, the Carolina low country had by 1774 reached a level of aggregate wealth greater than that in many parts of the world even today. The evolution of Charleston, the center of the low-country civilization, reflected not only the growing wealth of the area but also its spirit and soul (Coclanis 1989:7).

PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

Prehistoric Overview

The Paleoindian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Goodyear et al. 1989; Michie 1977; Williams 1968). The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

Sea level during much of this period is expected to have been as much as 65 feet lower than present, so many sites may be inundated (Flint 1971). Unfortunately, little is known about Paleoindian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally archaeologists agree that the Paleoindian groups were at a band level of society, were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on the isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 2000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleoindian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with little modification to the South Carolina coast. Archaic period assemblages are rare in the Sea Island region, although the sea level is anticipated to have been within 13 feet of its present stand by the beginning of the succeeding Woodland period (Lepionka et al. 1983:10). Brooks and Scurry note that:

> Archaic period sites, when contrasted with the subsequent Woodland period, are typically small, relatively few in number and contain low densities of archaeological material. The data may indicate that the inter-riverine zone was utilized by Archaic populations characterized by small group size, high mobility, and wide ranging exploitative patterns (Brooks and Scurry 1978:44).

Alternatively, the general sparsity of Archaic sites in the coastal zone may be the result of a more attractive environment inland adjacent to the floodplain swamps of major drainages. Of course, this is not necessarily an alternative explanation, since coastal Archaic sites may represent only a small segment in the total settlement system.

In the Coastal Plain of South Carolina there is an increase in the quantity of Early Archaic remains, probably associated with an increase in population and associated increase in the intensity of occupation. While Hardaway and Dalton points are typically found as isolated specimens along riverine environments, remains from the following Palmer phase are not only more common, but are also found in both riverine and interriverine settings. Kirks are likewise common in the coastal plain (Goodyear et al. 1979).

The two primary Middle Archaic phases found in the coastal plain are the Morrow Mountain and Guilford (the Stanly and Halifax complexes identified by Coe are rarely

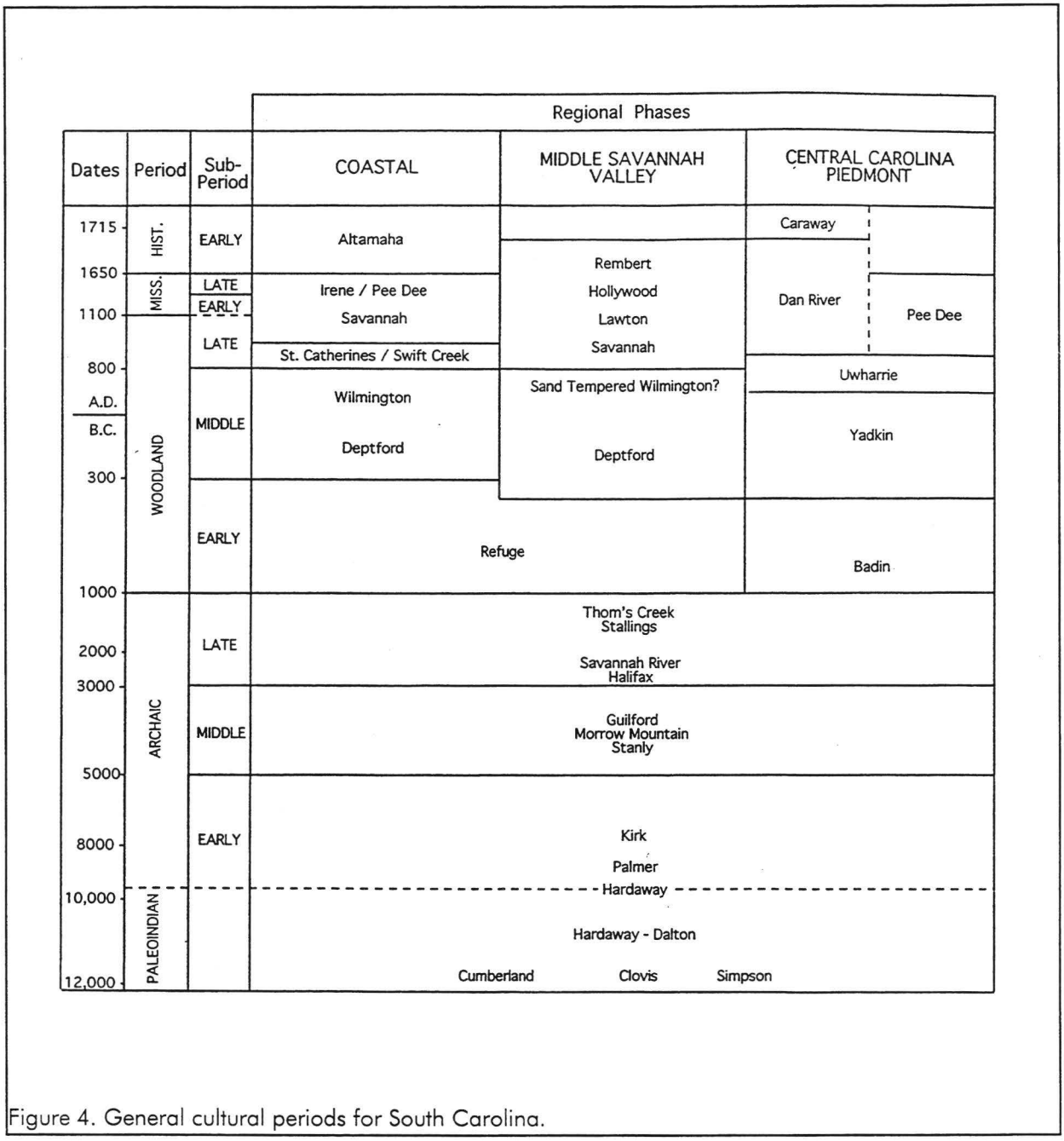

Figure 4. General cultural periods for South Carolina.

encountered). Our best information on the Middle Woodland comes from sites investigated west of the Appalachian Mountains, such as the work in the Little Tennessee River Valley. The work at Middle Archaic river valley sites, with their evidence of a diverse floral and faunal subsistence base, seems to stand in stark contrast to Caldwell's Middle Archaic "Old Quartz Industry" of Georgia and South Carolina, where axes, choppers, and ground and polished stone tools are very rare.

The Late Archaic is characterized by the appearance of large, square stemmed Savannah River projectile points (Coe 1964). These people

continued the intensive exploitation of the uplands much like earlier Archaic groups. The bulk of our data for this period, however, comes from work in the Uwharrie region of North Carolina.

The Woodland period begins by definition with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast (the introduction of pottery, and hence the beginning of the Woodland period, occurs much later in the Piedmont of South Carolina). It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2500 to 1000 B.C. is well documented on the South Carolina coast and is characterized by Stallings (fiber-tempered) pottery. The subsistence economy during this early period was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish.

Like the Stallings settlement pattern, Thom's Creek sites are found in a variety of environmental zones and take on several forms. Thom's Creek sites are found throughout the South Carolina Coastal Zone, Coastal Plain, and up to the Fall Line. The sites are found into the North Carolina Coastal Plain, but do not appear to extend southward into Georgia.

In the Coastal Plain drainage of the Savannah River there is a change of settlement, and probably subsistence, away from the riverine focus found in the Stallings Phase (Hanson 1982:13; Stoltman 1974:235-236). Thom's Creek sites are more commonly found in the upland areas and lack evidence of intensive shellfish collection. In the Coastal Zone large, irregular shell middens, small, sparse shell middens; and large "shell rings" are found in the Thom's Creek settlement system.

The Deptford phase, which dates from 1100 B.C. to A.D. 600, is best characterized by fine to coarse sandy paste pottery with a check stamped surface treatment. The Deptford settlement pattern involves both coastal and inland sites.

Inland, sites such as 38AK228-W, 38LX5, 38RD60, and 38BM40 indicate the presence of an extensive Deptford occupation on the Fall Line and the Coastal Plain, although sandy, acidic soils preclude statements on the subsistence base (Anderson 1979; Ryan 1972; Trinkley 1980). These interior or upland Deptford sites, however, are strongly associated with the swamp terrace edge, and this environment is productive not only in nut masts, but also in large mammals such as deer. Perhaps the best data concerning Deptford "base camps" comes from the Lewis-West site (38AK228-W), where evidence of abundant food remains, storage pit features, elaborate material culture, mortuary behavior, and craft specialization has been reported (Sassaman et al. 1990:96-98).

Throughout much of the Coastal Zone and Coastal Plain north of Charleston, a somewhat different cultural manifestation is observed, related to the "Northern Tradition" (e.g., Caldwell 1958). This recently identified assemblage has been termed Deep Creek and was first identified from northern North Carolina sites (Phelps 1983). The Deep Creek assemblage is characterized by pottery with medium to coarse sand inclusions and surface treatments of cord marking, fabric impressing, simple stamping, and net impressing. Much of this material has been previously designated as the Middle Woodland "Cape Fear" pottery originally typed by South (1976). The Deep Creek wares date from about 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1 in North Carolina, but may date later in South Carolina. The Deep Creek settlement and subsistence systems are poorly known, but appear to be very similar to those identified with the Deptford phase.

The Deep Creek assemblage strongly resembles Deptford both typologically and temporally. It appears this northern tradition of cord and fabric impressions was introduced and gradually accepted by indigenous South Carolina populations. During this time some groups continued making only the older carved paddle-stamped pottery, while others mixed the two styles, and still others (and later all) made

exclusively cord and fabric stamped wares.

The Middle Woodland in South Carolina is characterized by a pattern of settlement mobility and short-term occupation. On the southern coast it is associated with the Wilmington phase, while on the northern coast it is recognized by the presence of Hanover, McClellanville or Santee, and Mount Pleasant assemblages. The best data concerning Middle Woodland Coastal Zone assemblages comes from Phelps' (1983:32-33) work in North Carolina. Associated items include a small variety of the Roanoke Large Triangular points (Coe 1964:110-111), sandstone abraders, shell pendants, polished stone gorgets, celts, and woven marsh mats. Significantly, both primary inhumations and cremations are found.

On the Coastal Plain of South Carolina, researchers are finding evidence of a Middle Woodland Yadkin assemblage, best known from Coe's work at the Doerschuk site in North Carolina (Coe 1964:25-26). Yadkin pottery is characterized by a crushed quartz temper and cord marked, fabric impressed, and linear check stamped surface treatments. The Yadkin ceramics are associated with medium-sized triangular points, although Oliver (1981) suggests that a continuation of the Piedmont Stemmed Tradition to at least A.D. 300 coexisted with this Triangular Tradition. The Yadkin series in South Carolina was first observed by Ward (1978, 1983) from the White's Creek drainage in Marlboro County, South Carolina. Since then, a large Yadkin village has been identified by DePratter at the Dunlap site (38DA66) in Darlington County, South Carolina (Chester DePratter, personal communication 1985) and Blanton et al. (1986) have excavated a small Yadkin site (38SU83) in Sumter County, South Carolina. Research at 38FL249 on the Roche Carolina tract in northern Florence County revealed an assemblage including Badin, Yadkin, and Wilmington wares (Trinkley et al. 1993:85-102). Anderson et al. (1982:299-302) offer additional typological assessments of the Yadkin wares in South Carolina.

Over the years the suggestion that Cape Fear might be replaced by such types as Deep Creek and Mount Pleasant has raised considerable controversy. Taylor, for example, rejects the use of the North Carolina types in favor of those developed by Anderson et al. (1982) from their work at Mattassee Lake in Berkeley County (Taylor 1984:80). Cable (1991) is even less generous in his denouncement of ceramic constructs developed nearly a decade ago, also favoring adoption of the Mattassee Lake typology and chronology. This construct, recognizing five phases (Deptford I - III, McClellanville, and Santee I), uses a type variety system.

Regardless of terminology, these Middle Woodland Coastal Plain and Coastal Zone phases continue the Early Woodland Deptford pattern of mobility. While sites are found all along the coast and inland to the Fall Line, shell midden sites evidence sparse shell and artifacts. Gone are the abundant shell tools, worked bone items, and clay balls. Recent investigations at Coastal Zone sites such as 38BU747 and 38BU1214, however, have provided some evidence of worked bone and shell items at Deptford phase middens (see Trinkley 1990).

In many respects the South Carolina Late Woodland may be characterized as a continuation of previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the Carolina groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500 to 700 years (cf. Sassaman et al. 1990:14-15). This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex (see Ferguson 1971).

The South Appalachian Mississippian Period (ca. A.D. 1100 to 1640) is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The

earliest phases include the Savannah and Pee Dee (A.D. 1200 to 1550).

Beaufort's Early History

The early European history of the Beaufort area is the history of Spanish and French competition for a foothold on the Carolina coast. The early voyages and expeditions of Captain Francisco Gordillo, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and Hernando De Soto set the stage for Spanish conquest efforts, while the French relied on Captain Jean Ribaut.

The French efforts, at both Charlesfort (in the Beaufort, South Carolina area) and Fort Caroline (in Florida) were disastrous and had little permanent impact. While the Spanish efforts at Santa Elena were somewhat more permanent, they too had only a relatively brief impact on the history of the Beaufort area. Father Juan Rogel was one of the few careful observers of Native American life around Santa Elena and his commentaries are certainly one of the most important results of the settlement.

Nevertheless, tribes from Guale, Orista, and Escamacu united to drive the Spanish from the Beaufort area and briefly succeeded during a war which lasted from 1576 to 1579. The Spanish, however, returned with a vengeance, rebuilt the northern settlement, and embarked on a relatively peaceful coexistence with the local Indians until the settlement was permanently abandoned in 1587. Although there were efforts to revive the Spanish presence nothing came of it and the Carolina coast was largely deserted until the settlement of Charleston by the English in 1670.

This is not, however, to say that there was not continued exploration of the Beaufort area. Spanish missionaries visited the Santa Elena area several times between 1587 and 1618 (Rowland et al. 1996:50-52). But longer-term consequences were associated with the explorations of Captain William Hilton, who entered St. Helena bay on September 3, 1663. There he met with Edisto and Escamaru Indians, visiting their towns and providing some commentary on their lifeways (Holmgren 1959). Also resulting from his efforts was an English settlement at Cape Fear, North Carolina.

In 1666 Robert Sandford sailed south from this new settlement to explore the Carolina coast, stopping at Edisto and then moving on to the Port Royal area. There he explored what are thought to be the Broad River and the Calibogue Sound. It was during this trip that Henry Woodland began to acquire his exceptional reputation with the Native American groups along the coast. As Sandford sailed back north, Woodward chose to stay behind and learn the Indian ways and language. As Rowland and colleagues observe, Woodward has the distinction of the first permanent English settler in South Carolina (Rowland et al. 1996:61).

By 1669 the Proprietors were ready to make a permanent settlement in South Carolina and three ships set out intending to settle the Port Royal area. It was only through the intercession of the cacique of Kiawah that the English were persuaded, instead, to make their settlement at a low bluff called Albemarle Point on the Ashley River, upriver from what is today Charleston.

Like other European powers, the English were lured to the "New World" for reasons other than acquisition of land and promotion of agriculture. The Proprietors, who owned the Carolina colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop whose marketing would provide great wealth through the mercantile system. This system was designed to profit the mother country by providing raw materials unavailable in England and then purchasing the finished products — in today's vernacular, largely a "win-lose" scenario (Clowse 1971).

Charleston's relationship with their governing body, the Proprietors, was always uneasy. After the extermination of the Westos in 1680, largely to break the monopoly of the Proprietors on Indian trade, the Proprietors lost interest in the Indians and began to realize that they had yet to make a profit off the colony (Ferris 1968:124-125). Rowland suggests that the

settlement of Scots at Stuart Town was largely designed to begin a second commercial venture and perhaps even to rein in Charleston (Rowland et al. 1996:67). The settlement was established in 1684 about 1.5 miles south of Beaufort.

As soon as the settlement was established tensions between Charleston and Stuarts Town began to rise. An initial concern was the autonomy of the Scots settlement, although a deeper issue was who should have authority over the small contingent of Indian traders who had made settlements in the Beaufort area after the destruction of the Westo (Rowland et al. 1996:72).

Just as the eradication of the Westo opened the Beaufort area to the Proprietors and their Scots settlers, it also opened the area to the Yemassee, who quickly moved in from the west, spreading over the low country in just a few years. The Scots encouraged the Yemassee to attack Spanish missions to the south at the same time they alienated English support in Charleston. As a result, when the Spanish struck back in 1686, destroying Stuart Town, as well as all the Yemassee towns they could find, Charleston offered little support or sympathy. As Rowland notes:

> now that the Port Royal area had been scoured of settlers — both white and Indian — the English at Charles Town could take up the land and establish the Indian trade to suit themselves. During the next thirty years (1686-1720) South Carolinians acquired land grants on the islands near Port Royal and St. Helena Sounds. From their frontier plantations they conducted Indian trade and erected the foundations of lowcountry plantation society (Rowland et al. 1996:80).

Expansion in the Early Eighteenth Century

Rowland and his colleagues recount the ensuing land rush. Thomas Nairne, one of South Carolina's most active Indian traders, rapidly acquired 3,000 acres in the Beaufort area; Governor Joseph Blake acquired what came to be known as Lady's Island; Paul Grimball took a warrant for Datha Island; and on it went (Rowland et al. 1996:81).

Early Developments in the Study Area

Tracing the early settlement in the study area has proven to be a complex task. While there are a number of different secondary accounts, they differ markedly in terms of acreage and other details.

For example, John Todd and Francis Hutson, who relied on extensive research in the early records of what was at the time called the Historical Commission, report that:

> On October 25, 1726, the Lords Proprietors granted a barony of twelve thousand acres of land to Charles Edwards, who by declaration made July 5, 1727, relinquished it to Thomas Lowndes. It was surveyed out in two tracts — one for ten thousand acres and the other for two thousand acres — all lying between the Combahee and Pocotaligo Rivers in what is now Beaufort County. By a deed dated September 8, 1732, Lowndes sold five thousand acres of the larger tract and one thousand acres of the smaller tract to William Bull. The larger tract Bull settled himself, calling his place Sheldon. He gave the smaller tract to his son Stephen, and it was called Newbury (Todd and Hutson 1935:61).

Curiously, elsewhere Todd and Hutson comment that:

> Judge H.A.M. Smith, in his *Baronies of South Carolina*, states

> that the smaller of the two tracts purchased by William Bull was given to his son Stephen, and subsequently named Newbury. However, according to the map compiled from early surveys especially for this book, the smaller tract could not possibly have taken in the plantation of Newbury, which, however, does fall within the 5,000 acres purchased by Colonel William Bull (Todd and Hutson 1935:177).

While the earlier reference may simply be an error not caught during editing, this sets the stage for considerable confusion — especially since we have been unable to identify the original plats used by Todd and Hutson in the current records of the S.C. Department of Archives and History. In addition, a quick examination of H.A.M. Smith fails to reveal the reference to Newbury.

More recently Rowland and his colleagues have opted to accept the revised version of Todd and Hutson, explaining:

> In 1732, William Bull purchased six thousand acres from Thomas Lowndes. In the 1730s, he developed this property into the five-thousand-acre Sheldon Plantation and the thousand-acre Newbury Plantation (Rowland et al. 1996:114).

This current research reveals that the Proprietors did grant Charles Edwards, in trust for Thomas Lowndes, 12,000 acres on October 25, 1725 (SCDAH, Memorials, vol. 1, pgg. 456-457). This is repeated as a Royal Grant (SCDAH, Royal Grants, v. 39, pg. 259, recorded September 1736). The memorial includes the notation, dated July 1, 1727:

> I Charles Edward of St. Paul's Covent Garden . . . Do hereby declare that my name in the within written grant is only used in trust for Thomas Lowndes of St. Margaret Westminister and that I have no right, claim or property in the same, but that is altogether at the disposal of the said Thomas Lowndes (SCDAH, Memorials, vol. 1, pgg. 456-457).

Two additional notations are present, one by Lowndes and the other by William Bull (II), both dated September 8, 1732. They specify that the barony was divided into two moieties, with one being given to Lowndes and the other to William Bull (I).

This notation makes more sense in the context of a deed, dated July 8, 1727, in which Thomas Lowndes sells "one just fair even and equitable half part of moiety of Barony or tract of land" to William Bull for £200 sterling (Charleston County RMC, DB S, pg. 86, filed February 20, 1737).

Figure 5 provides one of several plats showing this property (others at the SC Department of Archives and History include one in the Over-Oversized plats of the Surveyor General and another of the Surveyor General's Plan Book, page 24). Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate the plat illustrated by Todd and Hutson (1935:63), which suggests that the document was probably in private ownership. The Todd and Hutson plat is of special interest since, unlike the others, it shows the division of the property between Lowndes and Bull as notations on the plat.

A problem with the plat is that it provides relatively little detail. Using "the road to Beaufort" along with the water features, it appears that the plat of 10,000 acres is within the study tract and incorporates the plantation settlement which has been documented archaeologically. In fact, the settlement area corresponds to what is labeled tract A. It is also shown, on the Todd and Hutson plat, as that portion taken by William Bull.

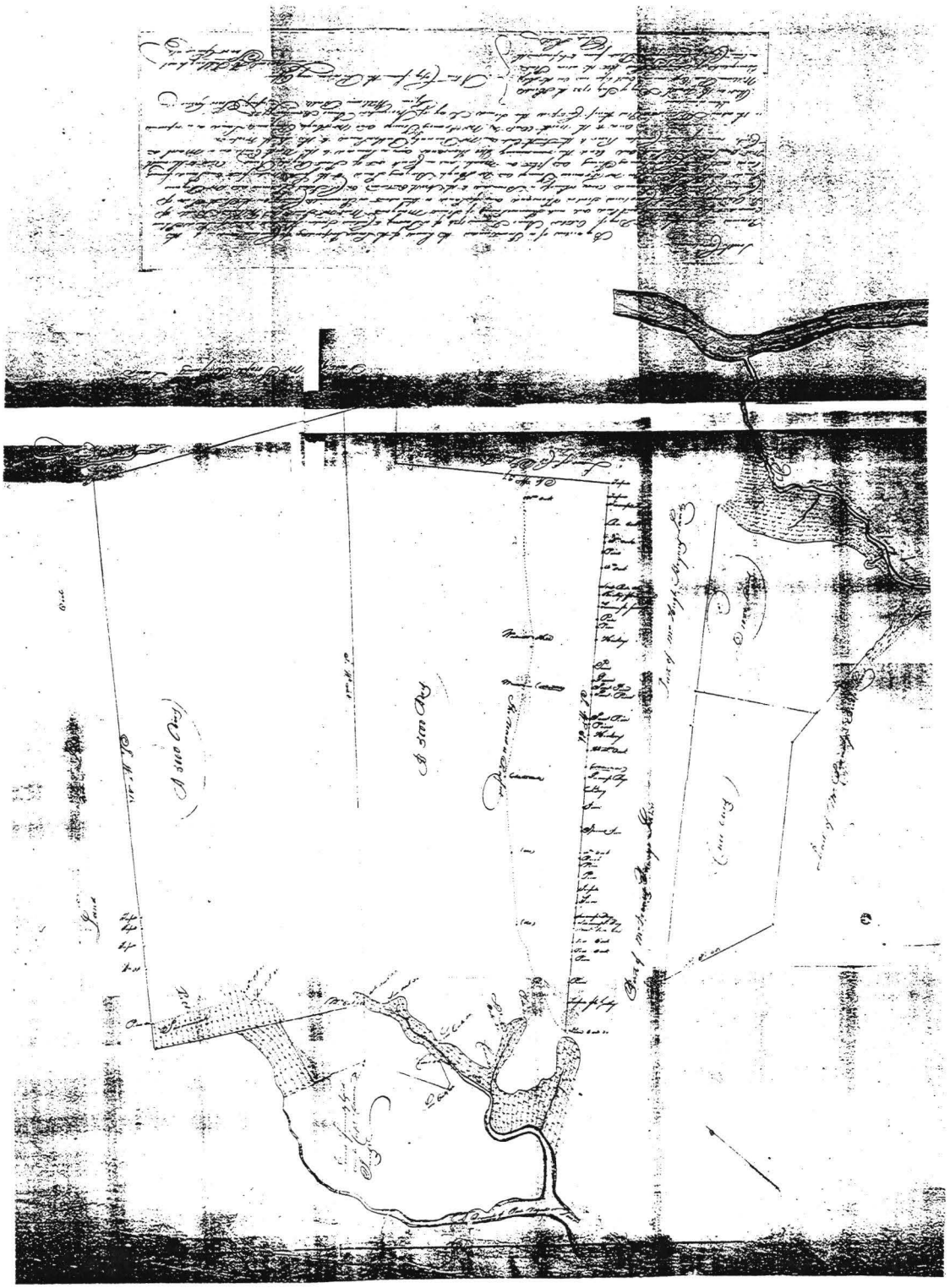

Figure 5. 1728 plat of Thomas Lowndes and William Bull (SCDAH, Secretary of State, Surveyor General, PB 5, pg. 36a, b)

Another problem is that when this plat is compared to the "Map of Early Surveys" prepared by Todd and Hutson (1935:300-31), the lines are not in agreement. In fact, Todd and Hutson show two plats, each for 5,000 acres. The northern one, which would again be in the study area, is described as,

> a part of 12,000 acres granted to Charles Edwards Oct. 25th, 1726. Relinquished to Thos. Lowndes Nov. 2d, 1728. Purchased by Col. Wm. Bull Sept. 8th, 1732.

The southern tract is described as,

> a part of 12,000 acres granted to Charles Edwards Oct. 25th, 1726. Relinquished to Thos. Lowndes July 5th, 1727. Plat certified Nov. 2d, 1728. Shows on plat of 1732 as Lands of Thos. Lowndes and William Bull.

This again makes it seem that Todd and Hutson were fortunate enough to have access to a number of documents which we have either not found or which may not be in the holdings of the S.C. Department of Archives and History.

Regardless, none of these early plats show any details of settlements — leaving unanswered how the William Bull settlement was laid out.

There is much written about the political accomplishments of William Bull. He was the eldest son of Stephen Bull and was born at the family's Ashley Hall Plantation in the St. Andrew Parish in April 1683. He received Ashley Hall from his father and by 1704 had built a two-story brick dwelling at Ashley Hall. Bull held numerous public offices, best described by Edgar and Bailey (1977:120-122). He served as commissioner for various undertakings, was in the militia (serving in the Tuscarora and Yemassee Wars), served three terms in the Commons House and served on the Royal Council.

Between 1737 and 1743 he served as the acting governor of the Colony after the death of Thomas Broughton. Bull managed to craft a broad base of political power, taking a deciding role in the controversy between the Commons House and Council. Edgar and Bailey comment that under Bull, "a new slave code was adopted, the township fund was refinanced, and the paper currency issue was settled — all of which added to the colony's internal stability" (Edgar and Bailey 1977:121-122).

Geraldine Meroney suggests that Bull blended politics with his own personal advancement, observing:

> His membership on the Council provided an opportunity, which he did not hesitate to exploit, of acquiring more land for himself. In a deal with the Provost Marshal, Thomas Lowndes, he secured half a barony (6,000 acres) south of the Combahee, which he later developed into a 5,000 acre plantation named Sheldon, for the former Bull estate in Warwickshire, and a 1,000 acre plantation named Newberry [sic] (Meroney 1991:20).

This does help to explain Bull's dealings with Lowndes. Otherwise, we have relatively little information concerning Bull's personal life.

Meroney contends that Mary, Bull's wife, preferred living at Ashley Hall over either the Charleston town house on Meeting or Sheldon. The town house is still standing, known today as the Bull House and situated on the corner of Meeting and Ladson streets (35 Meeting Street). The structure is a 3½ story stuccoed brick dwelling on a high brick basement. Local legend suggests that the house is "nearly identical" to the main house at Ashley Hall (Poston 1997:258-259).

It was only with the death of Mary, that the family appears to have moved into the Charleston town house, with Bull's daughter Charlotta

assuming control of household activities. When she married, young William (II) and his sister, Mary Henrietta, appear to have moved to Sheldon, living with their father, William Bull (I) (Meroney 1991:42-43).

In 1750, shortly after marrying Judith Mayrant, Bull's eldest son, Stephen, died. Since he anticipated eventually inheriting his father's estate as eldest son, Stephen had made little effort to accumulate his own wealth, apparently being content to manage affairs at Newbury. Meroney explains that the death of Stephen

> left Lt. Gov. Bull in a state of shock. This son had been his closest companion for many years, gone with him to Georgia, helped him develop Newberry [sic], and lived close by at Newberry [sic] with his new wife (Meroney 1991:44).

Afterwards it seems that Bull went into seclusion, being cared for by his daughter, Mary Henrietta, but otherwise seeing few visitors. His health declined rapidly and he died on March 21, 1755. He was buried March 24th under the church alter at Sheldon Church (Meroney 1991:45).

William Bull (I) was survived by his son William and his youngest daughter, Mary Henrietta, as well as his stepson, Stephen. It was Stephen Bull would be the chief benefactor of his estate, consisting of 17,400 acres of land, 138 slaves (107 of whom were at Sheldon), his Sheldon plantation house, the town house on Meeting Street in Charleston, and a large quantity of household goods, including 230 gallons of rum (Meroney 1991:45; Rowland et al. 1996:114). Bull, however, notes that even this, in spite of the represented wealth, did not accurately reflect the power and prestige of William Bull since much of his estate had already been distributed to his sons Stephen and William earlier in life (Bull 1991:42).

Regardless, we know that the mansion at Sheldon and just less than half of the associated lands were distributed to his twenty-one year old grandson, Stephen Bull (who became known as Stephen Bull of Sheldon). Bull's will stated that:

> I give & bequeath unto my Grandson Stephen Bull and to his heirs and Afsigns forever my House & Plantation called Sheldon in Granville County containing Two thousand Five hundred Acres of land being a part of six thousand Acres bought of Mr. Thomas Lowndes bounding to the Northeastwd on a dividing line to the Southeast on the high Road to the Northwestern the Boundary Line & to the Southwest partly on the Barony Line and partly on Marsh belonging to me and also the Marsh or Savannah joining to the Southwestward of the Barony Line down to the Road & Bridge & also that part of this Marsh lying to the Northwest of the Road on which I had made the Mill Dam (Charleston County WPA Will Book 7, pg. 339-343).

While the boundaries are not particularly meaningful today, there is no doubt that the will intended for Stephen to acquire the bulk of the plantation settlement. The remainder of the estate was more or less evenly divided among the other heirs.

Kinloch Bull observes that Stephen Bull remains an elusive figure until the American Revolution, although he did serve in the Commons House and was a Justice of the Peace (Bull 1991:41; Edgar and Bailey 1977:119). Apparently far more than politics, Stephen Bull focused on his role as a member of South Carolina's social elite:

> Stephen Bull kept open house at Sheldon . . . . After Sunday services at Sheldon Church, which immediately adjoined Sheldon plantation, as many as

> seventy carriages might be gathered at the mansion at Sheldon. Class distinctions were rigidly observed. The gentry were entertained at dinner by Stephen Bull, and his overseer provided for those of less social rank (Bull 1991:43).

For whatever reasons, with the coming of the American Revolution Stephen Bull appeared to take a stronger interest in politics, serving in the First and Second Provincial Congresses (1775-1776) and the First and Second General Assemblies (1776-1778). He was elected to the Third General Assembly, but never qualified.

During the Revolution he rose from a colonel in the colonial militia to the rank of brigadier general in the state militia. He commanded the militia district south of Charleston and was involved in the Battle of Port Royal.

Following the fall of Savannah in December 1778, Augusta was next, being captured by the British in January 1779. Even before moving into the Beaufort area in force, Weir (1976) notes that several raiding parties ventured into the area. Perhaps most notable was the raid which took place on the last several days of January, when a large body of British troops arrived in Port Royal Sound. They made several landings, burning or damaging plantations deserted by their owners, including the Laurel Bay plantation of General Stephen Bull. Confronted by superior forces, the Americans at Fort Lyttleton hastily spiked their guns, blew up their magazine, and then abandoned the fort.

A day later, on February 1, 1779, General William Moultrie arrived at Port Royal Ferry, crossing over to Port Royal Island with the intention of taking command of the Beaufort forces and holding Fort Lyttleton — regrettably a day too late. He stationed his troops north of Beaufort, to protect the rear. Meanwhile, the British landed at Laurel Bay, to the west, and marched north to Port Royal Ferry on February 2. There they discovered Americans encamped on the opposite bank of Whale Branch and learned that a large force had already moved over and had marched southward to Beaufort. The British turned southward, preparing to meet the Americans.

The ensuing battle, the following day on February 3, occurred just north of Grays Hill. Through the higher position Moultrie was able to take an excellent stand against British regulars. Both groups eventually withdrew from the field — the Americans apparently because of dwindling powder and the British because of the effectiveness of the American display. Nevertheless, the battle had little practical effect, as Rowland and his colleagues (Rowland et al. 1996) point out — Fort Lyttleton had been destroyed (albeit at American, not British, hands), a number of plantations had been plundered, and the British suffered no significant losses.

As part of this campaign, it appears that local loyalists or perhaps even British regulars advanced as far as the Stephen Bull plantation at Sheldon and burned it. Kinloch Bull reveals that a troop of American light cavalry brought the news that the smoke visible from that area on February 2 was Bull's plantation (Bull 1991:267). It was during this same raid that the nearby Sheldon Church was also burned.

Bull was captured with the fall of Charleston in 1780, later paroled and apparently did not perform any additional military service. For the remainder of the war he and his family lived in exile in Virginia and Maryland (Edgar and Bailey 1977:119). Kinloch Bull reports on his extreme poverty, being "supported by the sale of clay pots, tubs, and pails made by his slaves, and baskets made from rushes," with periodic assistance from relatives in South Carolina (Bull 1991:290). From midsummer 1779 through the fall of 1780, the ruins at Sheldon were used by the American forces under General Francis Marion.

After the Revolution Stephen Bull was elected to the House, but declined to serve, although he did sit in the Sixth and Seventh General Assemblies (1786-1788).

Figure 6. Portion of the "Plan of Operations" dated 1782 (Scavenius Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

Assuming considerable historical interest are the efforts by William Bull (II), a strong supporter of the crown, to avoid the confiscation and loss of his wealth. In 1779 William Bull transferred his estate to his nephew, Stephen Bull. There were many at the time who saw this as a fraudulent effort by William Bull to evade the law and eventually have his wealth restored to him. Others, with deep respect for William Bull would have been unlikely to confiscate his property. As events unfolded, Stephen Bull did everything he could to prevent his uncle from being able to re-acquire his property. It seems likely that the wealth of William Bull was at least partially maintaining Stephen Bull and he was loath to part with it. Eventually, the issue became one to be settled by the courts. In 1787 legal action was filed in the court of chancery in Charleston. After years of delaying tactics, largely by Stephen Bull and his attorneys, the court issued a ruling in 1790 which restored to William Bull the totality of his property (Bull 1991:302-316).

Prior to the court ruling most would have granted that Stephen Bull was a wealthy man — he had 233 slaves, much property in addition to that of his uncle's and he had been issued indents in the amount of £20,400 sterling for slaves taken by American forces. Yet, it appears that Stephen Bull was not only overextended, but that his excess living had been going on for a number of years.

So, with the court's 1790 ruling Stephen Bull's house of cards fell. Kinloch Bull comments that:

> His debts far exceeded his assets, and he was insolvent beyond hope of recovery. It was estimated that in1783 the property he had been able to hold together was not worth more than £22,000 sterling, although at that time he owed at least £32,000. In 1790 his assets were still worth no more than £22,000, but his cousin John Bull of the Oakaties estimated General Bull's debts by then as closer to £45,000 sterling and his judgement was concurred in by Thomas Fuller, the husband of Bull step-daughter Sally Middleton (Bull 1991:315-316).

Creditors surrounded Bull, with even his step-mother suing him for a 1783 loan of £2,000 (Bull 1991:316). It is reported that his mind began to fail very quickly after the finances collapsed and Sheriffs' sales began. Bull is reported to have died in 1795 by Kinloch Bull (1991:316) and in 1800 by Edgar and Bailey (1997:119). Both are agreed that he, too, was buried in the Sheldon churchyard.

The Antebellum Period

We have been unable to find any conveyance for Sheldon Plantation, although we believe that the plantation was sold to Thomas Fuller in 1801. The deed, however, appears to have been lost when the Beaufort County records

were destroyed during the Civil War. Regardless, we know that the Rev. Richard Fuller was owner in 1867 and his sale of the property to Dr. Henry M. Fuller mentions a plat of Sheldon prepared by John Goddard in February 1801 (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 25, pg. 522; DB 4, pg. 266).

The historical record, at least thus far, is quiet on the condition of the Sheldon plantation at the turn of the century. Kinloch Bull does note that a William Fraser sketch of the Sheldon plantation, shows "a second house built on or near the site of the house destroyed during the Revolution, as it now stands on a slight rise, with the ruins of Sheldon Church, with its columns in front, in the left background of the sketch" (Bull 1991:389, n.25). Clearly the sketch predates 1826, by which time the church had been rebuilt and most of Fraser's sketches date from 1796 to 1806.

Given the financial difficulties of Stephen Bull after the American Revolution is seems unlikely — although admittedly not impossible — for the mansion to have been rebuilt prior to his death in 1800. It makes more sense that the new owner would have attempted to restore the plantation to something approaching its former glory. What isn't clear is that the mansion was destroyed and rebuilt. As will be discussed in greater detail in following sections, it is possible that the damage to Sheldon was limited and quickly repaired.

James Hazzard Cuthbert indicated that, in 1879,

> Sheldon was the country residence of the Fullers, some fifteen miles out of Beaufort, on the mainland. From the public road to the house, and all around it, was one of the noblest avenues of magnolias (*M. grandiflora*) in all that land . . . . The overhanging and interlacing branches formed a perfect archway. . . . Around this central mansion were grouped the usual outworks and background of a plantation, — the cotton-houses and the houses of the colored people, with the alternate corn and cotton fields beyond. Some of the magnolias are still there, and the birds and streams still sing in concert; but every thing else is changed, — the old mansion a ruin, and the romantic beauty of the spot vanished like the dear faces of the original family group (Cuthbert 1879:16-17).

Although this passage indicates that Sheldon was in ruins by 1876, we believe that it should be interpreted with caution. By this point the mansion might have been nearly 150 years old and scarred by the revolution. It might have been far past its glory, but still standing and lived in.

The elder Thomas Fuller died in 1830 and perhaps left the Sheldon Plantation to his eldest son, Dr. Thomas Fuller. Dr. Fuller has been described,

> before the war, [as] one of the wealthiest cotton planters on the Carolina seaboard; his excellent judgements and business-habits insuring success . . . . [he] retired largely from the practice of medicine and spent the summer usually in travel (Cuthbert 1879:24).

The 1850 agricultural census reports that Dr. Thomas Fuller provided no response (perhaps because he was traveling) and the information on his 130 slaves was obtained from the Beaufort tax books. Two other Fullers, however, are listed in Prince William Parish. Dr. Henry M. Fuller (b. 1807) was listed with 416 acres of improved land and 500 acres of unimproved, valued at $9,160 ($183,200 in year 2000 dollars). The plantation included four horses, two mules, 20 milk cows, eight oxen, and 60 head of cattle, all valued at $960 ($19,200 in year 2000 dollars). The subsistence crops raised included 1,000 bushels of

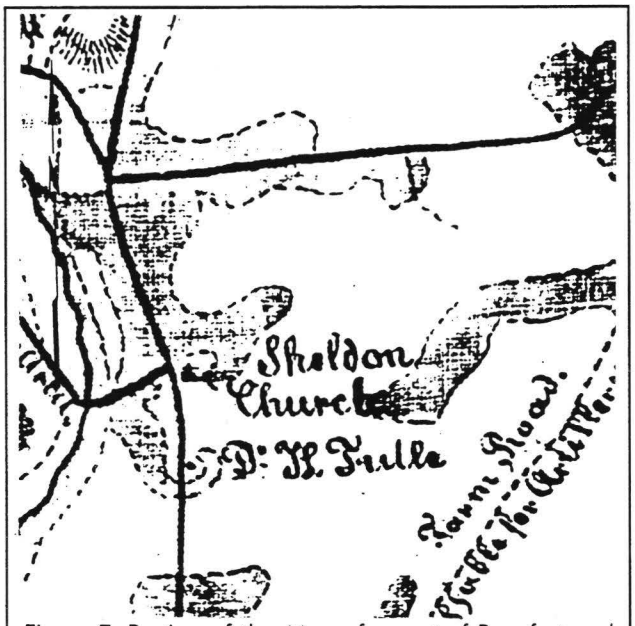

Figure 7. Portion of the *Map of a part of Beaufort and Colleton Districts* (National Archives, RG77, 147) showing the Dr. Henry Fuller settlement on Sheldon Church Road.

corn and 200 bushels of peas. Cash crops included 80,000 pounds of rice and 12 bales of cotton. On the plantation were 54 slaves.

Also listed was the Rev. Richard Fuller, with 400 acres of improved land and 400 acres of unimproved land, valued at $8,000 ($160,000 in year 2000 dollars). This plantation reported four horses, three mules, 20 milk cows, six oxen, and 40 head of cattle, valued at $700. Subsistence crops were identical: 1,000 bushels of corn and 200 bushels of peas. While no rice was produced on this tract, 30 bales of cotton were produced. The Rev. Richard Fuller, at this time, owned 65 African American slaves.

The 1860 census lists Dr. Thomas Fuller, revealing that he possessed 1,500 acres of improved land and 300 acres of unimproved land, valued at $40,000 ($800,000 in year 2000 dollars). The plantation also contained implements valued at $2,500 ($50,000 in year 2000 dollars). Listed were two horses, 10 mules, 50 milk cows, nine oxen, 84 head of cattle, 53 sheep, and 43 pigs, for a value of $4,000 ($80,000 in year 2000 dollars). The plantation produced relatively little food — only 3,000 bushels of corn, 400 bushels of peas, and 3,500 bushels of sweet potatoes, clearly focusing on cash crops, 600 pounds of rice and, in particular, 145 bales of cotton. By this time Dr. Fuller's slave population had risen to 143.

The plantation of Dr. Henry M. Fuller had changed little in value since 1850, being listed at $10,000 (up to $200,000 in year 2000 dollars) in 1860. Nevertheless, the slave population had increased to 73. The head of cattle had been reduced to only 18, although the plantation had added 45 sheep and five pigs. The value of the livestock was up to $2,000. Rice production had plummeted to only 500 pounds, although sweet potatoes are now listed (1,100 bushels) and the cotton production was increased to 31 bales.

The 1860 census for the Rev. Richard Fuller shows a decrease in the number of slaves, down by 12 to 53. The value of the plantation was likewise down, being listed as $5,000 ($100,000 in year 2000 dollars). Since cotton production was up to 41 bales (from 30 a decade earlier), the

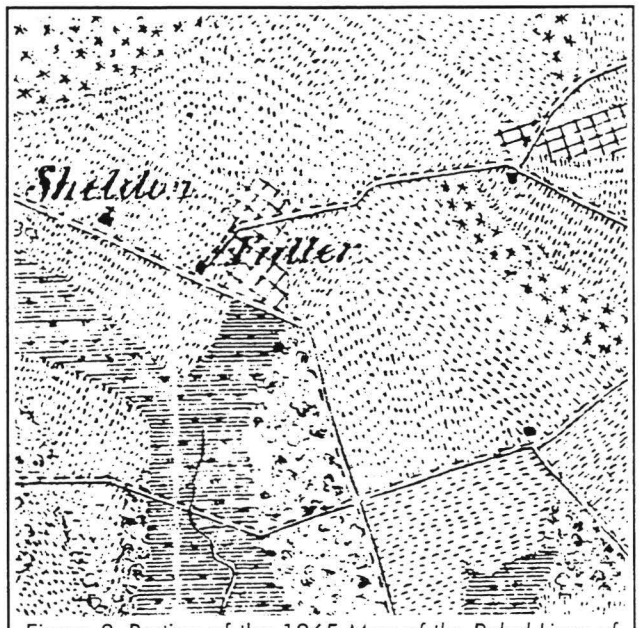

Figure 8. Portion of the 1865 *Map of the Rebel Lines of the Pocotaligo, Combahee & Ashepoo, South Carolina*, showing the main Fuller settlement and another settlement further to the east.

decline in value must reflect the loss of working capital — or slaves.

Also listed in the 1860 census for the first time was R[obert]. Barnwell Fuller, a son of Dr. Thomas Fuller. While the number of slaves was not listed, his plantation produced 44 bales of cotton and was valued at $7,500 ($150,000 in year 2000 dollars).

Although there was considerable military activity in Sheldon area, largely focused on the defense of the railroad line linking Savannah and Charleston, there is only one brief mention of the Fuller plantation in the *Official Records*. In February 23, 1863 the Confederate Special Orders 50 mentioned that there were "obstructions on Sheldon Church Road, at Dr. Henry Fuller's" (OR, vol. 20, pg. 795).

This brief statement is confirmed by a series of earthworks found on both sides of the Old Sheldon Church Road (38BU1874 and 38BU1875; see Trinkley and Fick 2000). The report is also interesting since it suggests that Henry Fuller was linked to the plantation even prior to his actual purchase of the property (see below).

Figure 8 shows the Fuller settlement toward the end of the Civil War. Of particular importance is that this map, of the most detailed surviving, shows not only the main plantation settlement close to Sheldon Church Road, but also another settlement, about 2 miles to the east. In addition, it reveals that the plantation consisted almost entirely of cultivated fields. An area of rice was situated immediately east of the main settlement, while another long, linear area, was found to the north and northeast of the second settlement.

The Postbellum Operations

Consequently, it appears that prior to the Civil War Dr. Thomas Fuller was a very successful planter. The Civil War, however, sent him into "refuge" in Greenville, South Carolina, "where he gradually sunk under the change of life and the excitement of the times," dying about 1864 (Cuthbert 1879:24).

Dr. Fuller's will (Beaufort County Probate Court, Will Book F5) does not specifically mention the Sheldon estate. It is therefore uncertain how it passed to the Rev. Richard Fuller, Dr. Fuller's younger brother. The Rev. Richard Fuller was the ninth child, growing up in a large and prosperous household (Rowland et al. 1996:408).

Regardless, as previously observed, in 1867 Richard Fuller sold the 700 to 800 acre Sheldon Plantation to Dr. Henry M. Fuller for $615 ($6,833 in year 2000 dollars) (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 25, pg. 522). A mortgage to secure the property was satisfied and the various deeds mention two plats, one prepared by John Norton on March 4, 1836 and another prepared by William Brailsford on January 2, 1842 (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, Mortgage Book 2, page 71. Neither can be located today and were likely destroyed either in the Beaufort County records or in private family papers.

Cuthbert explains that Henry Middleton Fuller "grew up" with Richard and that the two were "strongly attached to each other through life", perhaps helping to explain the transfer in 1867. Henry Middleton Fuller,

> studied medicine, first in Philadelphia under Dr. Rush, and then in Edinburgh, Scotland. Returning to Beaufort, he was associated in practice with his older brother [Dr. Thomas Fuller]. By skill in his profession, and the good management of his inherited property, he lived in easy circumstances at the dear old home in Beaufort (Cuthbert 1879:28).

Dr. Henry Middleton Fuller died about 1872 and his will uses, for the first time, the name Prescott Plantation — instructing that the tract be sold as soon as possible in order to pay his debts. It is not, however, clear how the Prescott lands

relate to Sheldon. In fact, the will stipulates that his wife should "have the use of my 'Sheldon House' with the furniture and all other articles belonging to it, free of charge until she receives her said portion" of the estate. He also bequeaths to his son, Henry M. Fuller, "that portion of my Sheldon Plantation, now leased to him, and known as the 'New Salt Lands' together with such adjoining high lands as he may select as will make one hundred acres in all." A later reference, however, makes it clear that this was not to include the Sheldon home, since,

> the one-third of my real estate set apart to my wife shall include the Sheldon Home and plantation settlement . . . . Upon the death of my wife the one third hereby given her shall in like manner be divided among the parties entitled thereto . . . the said House and plantation settlement shall be allotted to my said son Henry M. Fuller (Beaufort County Probate Court, Wills F2).

In other words, Dr. Fuller gave his wife a life estate in the Sheldon plantation settlement and main house, but specified that upon her death, it would pass to his eldest son, Henry M. Fuller.

An appraisal of Fuller's estate taken March 15, 1872 listed four mules ($400), 19 head of cattle ($2,500), eight oxen ($300), one two-horse wagon ($50), two ox wagons ($50), one horse cart ($25), six single-horse plows ($30), one two-horse plows ($6), one set of wagon harness, and six plow gears ($6). No crops are listed and we can't be certain that the items were on Sheldon, although this seems reasonable.

The estate accounts reveal that the Sheldon plantation continued to be operated. Itemized was $183.80 to Barnwell and Tallaird for surveying, suggesting that yet another unfound plat may exist of Sheldon. Cotton seed was also being purchased ($91.98 to M. Pollitzer) as well as fertilizer ($175.80 to Stono Phosphate works). The record also reveals that some salaries were being paid on the plantation. At year end (December 31) are recorded $250 paid to Harry Stuart for salary and $118 paid to Pompey Jones, also for salary. Whether these were day laborers or overseers is unclear, although the payment of yearly wage suggests the latter. Other accounts suggest that much of the land may have been rented or leased out. Income included both the sale of cotton, as well as rice — perhaps indicating that the plantation continued to be operated as it had during the antebellum.

A receipt for taxes paid in 1884 reveal that the plantation contained 1,128 acres valued at $6,170 ($102,833 in year 2000 dollars) and the plantation complex (perhaps including various tenant houses) was listed at 15 buildings with a value of $150 ($2,500 in year 2000 dollars). A total of $82.59 was paid in tax that year.

The Law and Kirk map (Figure 9) dates from this period and shows not only the Dr. Fuller residence, but also the Fuller residence further east, also shown on Figure 8. It also reveals that there was a mill, called "Fuller's Mill" somewhere northeast of the junction of Sheldon Church Road and the road to Charleston (today US 17). While

Figure 9. Portion of the 1873 Law and Kirk *Map of Beaufort County*, updated by Navy Department Bureau of Yards and Docks, 1919.

no effort has been made to find this mill, its location suggests that it may have been either steam or water powered — and its identification would be of considerable value. Similar information, albeit in less detail, is provided by the 1877 *Map showing the location of the lands of the South Carolina Land and Improvement Company on Port Royal Harbor.*

Early Twentieth Century Activies

It is unclear when — or if — Henry M. Fuller achieved full control over Sheldon, but in 1904 he died. The property is not specifically mentioned in his will (Beaufort County Probate Court, Wills F21). The appraisal of the estate reveals a range of items, including 32 head of cattle ("7 of this number old + broken"; $192), 50 head of sheep (no value listed), five wagons ($50), one cart ($6), seven sets of wagon harness ($7), one reaper and binder ($25), one horse rake ($6), one mower ($10), three disc harrows ($30), four Thomas harrows ($8), one "old disc harrow (worthless)", a double buggy ($15), a single buggy ($10), two saddles and bridles ($5), a buggy harness ($2), five mules ($350), eight horses ($415), a lot of meat ($5), four hogs ($15), several tubs ($2), and two pair of "worthless" scales. While not itemized, the appraisal indicates that the two bedrooms each contained $15 in furniture. The office furniture was valued at $5, and the parlor furniture was placed at $25. A breach loading gun was valued at $15, while kitchen wares (glass & crockery) and the pantry were also valued at $15. The cooking stove and utensils were valued at $10. The only produce listed was hay, placed at $15.

The estate accounts provide a brief glimpse of plantation activities at the turn of the century. For example, "Ben, cattle minder" was paid two week's of wages and funds were spent on the casket and charges. At this point in time Sheldon Church was apparently paying $20 a year rent on their property to Fuller.

The Modern Era

In an effort to dispose of the estate, the executor, William Elliott, sold Sheldon to Adelaide H. Colcock in December 1904 for $9,550 ($191,000 in year 2000 dollars) (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 25, pg. 542).

Colcock in turn sold the plantation in March 1907 to Henry O. Havemeyer — the first northerner to own the parcel — for $15,000 ($300,000 in year 2000 dollars) (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 27, pg. 394). The tract was described as Sheldon Plantation, incorporating about 1700 acres. It was bounded north by Twickenham; east and southeast by Walnut Hill, by a plantation formerly belonging to the estate of Chaplin, and the Huspah Road; to the south by lands formerly belonging to Dr. William Fuller; and west by Tomotley, lands of Sheldon Church, part of a plantation formerly called Prescotts, and by Rosefield Plantation. The deed specified that the property was "formerly owned respectively by the late Dr. Henry M. Fuller and Rev. Richard Fuller, both deceased and since owned and cultivated as one plantation by the late Henry M. Fuller, also now deceased."

Havemeyer died shortly after acquiring the plantation and, in 1910, his heirs (Louisine W. Havemeyer, Electra H. Webb, Horace Havenmeyer, and Adeline H. Hrelinghysen) sold the property to Mary S. McCurdy for $45,000 ($900,000 in year 2000 dollars).

In 1931 Robert H. McCurdy of Morris, New York, sold the property to Phebe K. Thorne of Islup, New York for $100 plus other good and valuable consideration (Beaufort County Clerk of Court DB 48, pg. 135). The deed covers six tracts totaling 5,540 acres, with Sheldon Plantation listed as tract 2 and the Sheldon Church tract listed as tract 3.

In May 1955 6,034.7 acres, including Sheldon, were sold by the Rock Island Oil and Refining Company, Inc. to G.H. Bostwick for $265,000 ($1,687,891 in year 2000 dollars) (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 78, pg. 129). By this time the entire tract was being called Tomotley.

Figure 10. Portion of the 1951 aerial photograph (CDU-1H-88) showing the project area.

Figure 10 also reveals land use activities at this time. There was still a clearly defined open field, probably in the immediate vicinity of the Bull/Fuller plantation settlement. Elsewhere forest had taken over the plantation. Evidence of the rice fields was still visible, however, with both Sheldon Road and the interior plantation road forming two dams. Interior fields were more common, revealing that the plantation was either being planted or that fields were at least being maintained for hunting purposes.

In 1986 Dolly Van S. Bostwick sold what was then the 6,550.8 acre Tomotley Plantation to Norman Volk, as trustee of a inter-vivus trust for $960,900 (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 465, pg. 2229). The deed specifies that she had acquired the property from the will of George H. Bostwick, dated February 28, 1975 and filed as Jacket 83 in the Beaufort County Probate Court.

Volk held the tract as trustee for only four years, selling 2,103 acres of the parcel for $10 and other valuable consideration in December 1990 to Thomas L. Crosby (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 567, pg. 278). Crosby split out two tracts, one for 976.007 acres and another for 7.756 acres, selling them to Prescott Plantation in 1991. The cost at that time was $737,025 (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 573, pg. 228). In 1995 Prescott Plantation sold what is today the main portion of the original Sheldon Plantation to Lowcountry Partners for $5 and a division of assets (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 763, pg. 1704) and in 1997 Lowcountry Partners sold the tract to Salt Marsh Partners, this time for $10 and other valuable consideration (Beaufort County Clerk of Court, DB 930, pg. 513).

SURVEY METHODS AND RESULTS

Archaeological Field Methods

As a reconnaissance, our survey approach was simply to visit those sites which were known to Mr. Minis, who fortunately is very familiar with his property and was able to take us to the two major plantation settlements, as well as two additional cemeteries. During the initial visit we only photographed the sites, took GPS readings to locate the sites, and collected other information which was necessary to complete the site forms required by the SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Identified Sites

This initial visit identified five sites on Prescott Plantation: the Bull/Fuller settlement, the more eastwardly Fuller settlement, a slave row associated with the Fuller settlement, and two African American cemeteries on the plantation. Each of these is briefly described below.

38BU1907 - Bull/Fuller Plantation

This site was found about 1,000 feet northeast of Old Sheldon Road in an area of dense forest. While easy to initially overlook, a number of the overstory trees are magnolias. These likely represent remnants of the original antebellum avenue reported in several period accounts. Also present is a rather dense understory of scrub vegetation — largely second growth in the abandoned fields.

The site is found on a broad sand ridge oriented approximately northwest-southeast, parallel to the nearby rice fields of Huspa Creek and Sheldon Church Road to the southwest. To the east there is another arm of old rice fields. The primary soils are Seabrook sands and elevations are about 80 feet AMSL. The central UTM is approximately 521050E 3608500N (NAD27 datum).

During this initial visit we identified several brick scatters, including two clearly defined foundation remains. We believe that these represent the remains of the main house, as well as two flankers. Also present is a looted well, surrounded by a variety of bottles and other artifacts discarded as uninteresting or lacking commercial value by the looters. A drilled well, with much piping still in place, was also found. This likely represents a late nineteenth century addition. Artifacts, while largely covered by leaf litter, were found on the surface and included ceramics, nails, and container glass. The site area was initially thought to represent an area measuring about 700 feet east-west by 550 feet north-south.

Our initial survey suggested that the site was potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion A (association with a famous person, William Bull) and Criterion D (information potential). The presence of intact foundations and much brick rubble in an area which has not been noticeably affected by agriculture or other development suggested that site integrity was high. Additional research at this site includes, most fundamentally, exploring the plantation landscape to gain a better understanding of how the various structures were organized and determining their function. Secondary goals would appropriately include exploring the architecture of the structures, looking for evidence of their temporal periods (when built and when abandoned), examining them for evidence of modifications (such as the addition of the drilled well), and exploring the lifeways of their occupants. This last theme is of special interest since we have been able to determine at least some background information on the Fullers and Bull's wealth and prestige is well documented.

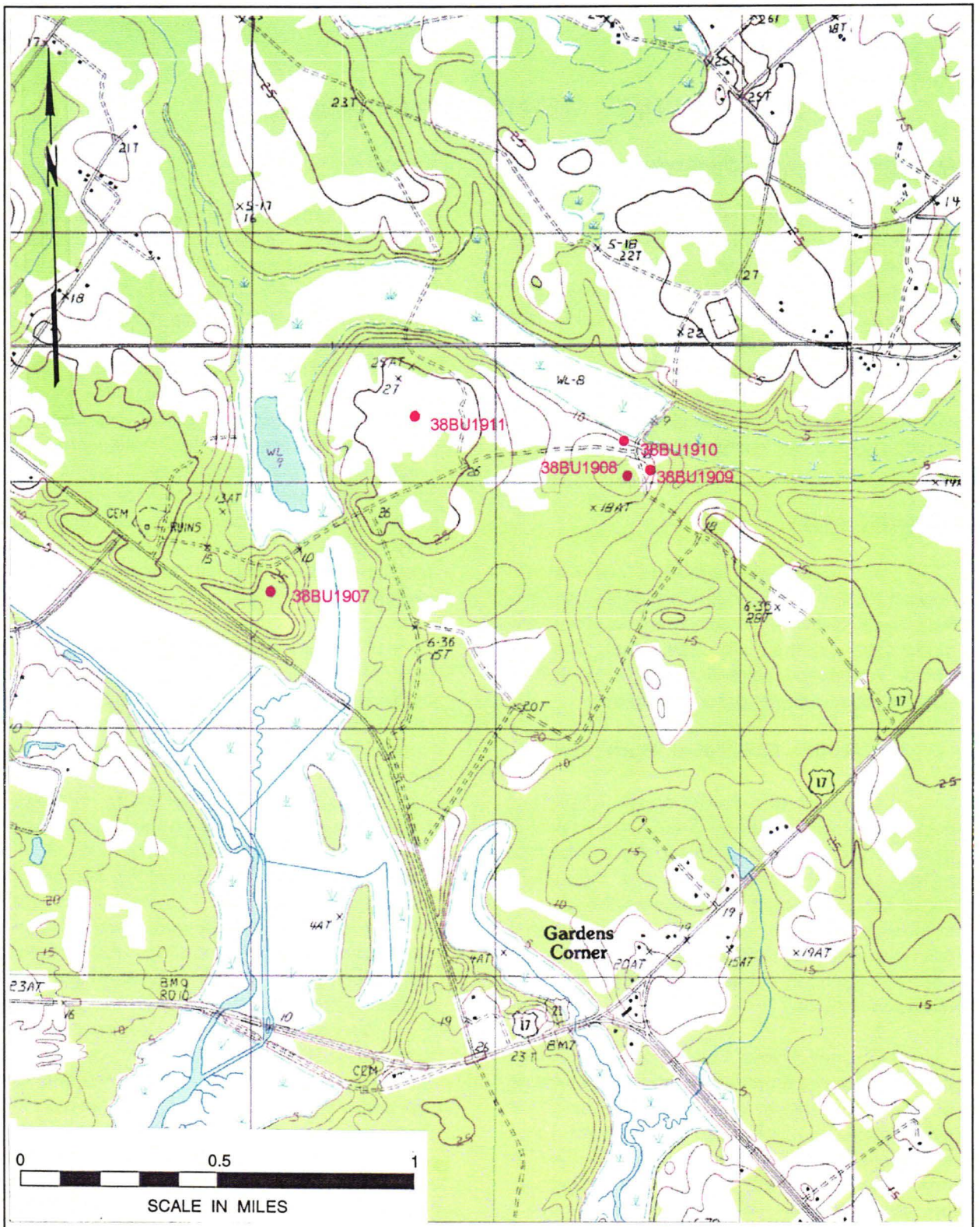

Figure 11. Sites identified on Prescott Plantation.

38BU1908 - Fuller Plantation

This site was found in an open field about a mile east of the main Bull/Fuller settlement. The central UTM coordinates are 522550E 360920N (NAD27 datum) and the site is found at the east edge of a low sand ridge overlooking rice fields to the north and northeast. The elevation is about 60 feet AMSL and the soils are Nemours sands. The original vegetation patterns have long ago been disrupted by cultivation. There are a few hardwoods at the road edge, but even these are not likely to represent antebellum specimens. The nearby rice fields have likewise grown up and today appear as only dense wetlands. Additional investigation, however, may reveal remnant dikes or water control features. Much of the wetland area, however, is not on Mr. Minis' property.

Perhaps the most obvious indicator was a fairly localized scatter of brick rubble, covering an area of perhaps 80 feet east-west by 60 feet north-south. The density suggests that these remains may represent chimney fall associated with a single, relatively modest house. Our first thought was that this may represent an overseer's structure (based both on its size and also its close association with a presumed slave settlement, 38BU1909). This structure, however, is shown on maps with the name "Fuller," implying that a family member lived here.

Regardless, the site has suffered some degree of disturbance because of plowing, although it does not appear that the core of the site — where the densest brick is located — has been affected. Based on this initial assessment we believed that the site was potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion D, information potential.

Of particular interest here is learning whether this structure represents that of an overseer or family member — which may perhaps be evidenced by the status of the artifacts present. Of course, the two are not mutually exclusive. Regardless, it is useful to have both a main dwelling and an secondary structure for comparison.

38BU1910 - Fuller Slave Settlement

This is the only site visited which was not known to Mr. Minis and was not recorded until the second round of study, during subsurface investigations. We encountered it as a scatter of material on the road which separates Prescott Plantation from its neighbor to the east, so that at least a portion of the site is situated off the study tract. Moreover, we attribute it to a slave settlement based only the nature of materials found, their distribution, and the geographic location of the remains. The site has not been identified in any of the historic documents.

The site is on the east edge of a low sand ridge overlooking rice fields to the north and northeast, with a tributary of the Huspa Creek about 400 feet to the north. This close association to the rice fields is one of the features which suggests that the remains are those of a slave settlement. The elevation is about 60 feet AMSL and the soils are classified as Nemours sands. The central coordinates of the slave settlement are 522600E 3609020E (NAD27 datum).

The area is heavily wooded, although the road clearing provided easy access and allowed a relatively large surface assemblage to be identified. No above grade features, however, were identified. Artifacts eventually recovered include ceramics, nails, window glass, and container glass — all likely representing a low status, nineteenth century occupation. These materials are consistent with an African American settlement during the antebellum.

The site appears to represent a scatter measuring at least 200 feet east-west, although the eastern limits are not well defined. It is also found scattered about 500 feet north-south along the farm road. This distribution is also consistent with a slave settlement, perhaps represented by dwellings on either side of the road, forming a double row. The proximity of the scatter to a nearby dwelling, perhaps that of an overseer, is also consistent with the landscape of antebellum plantations.

Figure 12. Walnut Hill cemetery, looking northeast.

This site has received the least investigation, but it too is at least tentatively recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. It provides an opportunity to compare and contrast the lifeways of the plantation's white owners and operators with those of the African American slaves.

38BU1910 - Walnut Hill Cemetery

This is one of the two African American cemeteries known to exist on Prescott Plantation. It is situated at the north edge of a low sand ridge overlooking rice fields to the north. The cemetery appears to be oriented roughly east-west, along the edge of the low ground and extending south to a dirt farm road. A tributary of Huspa Creek is situated about 150 feet to the north. The elevation is only about 50 feet AMSL and the soils are Nemours sands. While far more intensive work will be necessary to completely assess the boundaries, the posited central UTM coordinates are 522490E 3609170N (NAD27 datum). The site is estimated to measure at least 300 feet east-west by 200 feet north-south.

The cemetery is thought to contain a large number of graves, based on the number of unmarked grave depressions, as well as a few marked graves. Grave goods are present, but generally broken and scattered, probably from logging which has taken place in the cemetery. Today the vegetation is mixed pine and hardwoods, with a fairly dense understory of secondary growth.

Several of the graves identified include those of Kitt Robinson, Mary Small, Rev. Samuel Grayson, and Eddie Wright. Markers include cast concrete and marble. Of the identified graves only one, that of Kitt Robinson, could be associated with the death certificate. That document (Certificate 5979) reveals that Mr. Robinson was a farmer who died in the community of Sheldon. The place of burial is listed as Walnut Hill — giving us the only indication of a name for this cemetery. A very brief search of death certificates failed to identify the other individuals.

This site is recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criterion D since it is probable that the site could address a variety of forensic questions concerning diet, disease, and health of a rural African American population during the early twentieth century. Additional research may also reveal that the cemetery dates into the antebellum, further tying the community to a slave population. Of greatest importance here is the collection of oral history from the elderly black population in the Sheldon vicinity. It would be of special interest to know if "Walnut Hill" is a term which perhaps described a portion of the property, since no plantation by that

Figure 13. Marker for Kitt Robinson at Walnut Hill.

name was encountered in any of the historic research.

38BU1911 - Cemetery 2

This represents the second graveyard found on Prescott Plantation and it is situated about 0.5 mile west of Walnut Hill Cemetery. It is found in the center of what has historically been a cultivated field — a very different setting than Walnut Hill. The area has been logged at least once and has grown back up in scrub vegetation. The 1951 aerial photograph (Figure 10) reveals that this area was only lightly vegetated at that time. The elevation is about 85 feet AMSL and the soils are Coosaw sands. A tributary of Huspa Creek is about 1,500 feet to the northwest, north and northeast. The central UTM coordinates are 521650E 3609210N (NAD27 datum).

This cemetery contains a very large number of unmarked grave depressions, as well as many marked graves. Grave goods were not observed during the brief reconnaissance, but the area has been rather extensively affected by logging and perhaps cultivation. One of the most critical needs here is to establish realistic boundaries and clearly mark the limits of the cemetery. At the present time we are estimating boundaries of at least 300 feet north-south by 300 feet east-west.

There are a number of stones — more than found at Walnut Hill — and there may be significant kinship differences. Names identified from this cemetery include Ernest Smith, Raymond Smith, Robert M. Pinckney, and Kirby Johnson. It is likely that this cemetery is more recent than Walnut Hill, although additional historical research (most importantly oral history) will be necessary to fully understand the relationship of the two sites. We were not immediately able to locate death certificates for any of those known to be buried at this cemetery.

We believe, however, that the cemetery is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D, information potential. In particular, the presence of two cemeteries on one tract, possibly reflecting differences in the populations represented, provides an opportunity to compare and contrast two rural African American populations during the early to mid twentieth century.

TESTING AT 38BU1907, 38BU1908, AND 38BU1909

Methods and Goals

Our goal during the additional testing of the Bull/Fuller Plantation (38BU1907) and the Fuller Plantation (38BU1908) was to gather a representative collection, suitable for better dating and perhaps examination of status, and to also better identify the site boundaries — both within the context of causing minimal disturbance to the archaeological potential of the sites. Our goal was not to gather large quantities of artifacts which required processing, but rather to collect sufficient materials to help us better understand the two sites. While much remains to be learned about these sites, we believe this goal was accomplished.

A secondary goal, at least for the Bull/Fuller Plantation, was to better understand the plantation landscape. In other words, what types of structures are still present and recognizable and how do they relate to one another. Again, this goal was also met and we have been able to prepare an initial map of the site.

The initially proposed field techniques involved the placement of shovel tests at 20 foot intervals along transects laid out at 20 foot intervals. All soil would be screened through ¼-inch mesh and would measure about 1 foot square and would normally be taken to a depth of at least 1.5 to 2 feet or until subsoil was encountered. All cultural remains would be collected, except for mortar and brick, which would be quantitatively noted in the field and discarded. Notes would be maintained for soil profiles at any sites encountered.

These proposed techniques were initially implemented with no significant modifications. Shovel tests in the areas thought to contain the main house, slave settlement and the southeast flanker were tested at 20-foot intervals along transects placed at 20-foot intervals. Artifacts were placed in bags labeled according to a north/east coordinate. It was then found that due to the numerous amount of artifacts collected and the short amount of time available, it would be more efficient to finish the survey using 50-foot intervals.

In addition to the shovel tests, we also opened several 2-foot test units at each of the sites. This work included several goals. First, we intended to obtain larger collections than is usually possible in shovel tests and second, we hoped to get better — or at least easier to interpret — soil profiles by opening larger test units. Both of these goals were also achieved.

The cleaning and analysis of artifacts was conducted in Columbia at the Chicora Foundation laboratories. These materials have been catalogued and accessioned for curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the closest regional repository. All of the site forms for the examined sites have been updated and filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Field notes and photographic materials have been prepared for curation using archival standards and have been transferred to that agency for permanent retention.

Analysis of the historic collections follow professionally accepted standards with a level of suitability to the quantity and quality of the remains. In general, the temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of historic remains follow such authors as Price (1970) and South (1977). Glass artifacts are identified using sources such as Jones (1986), and Jones and Sullivan (1985). Sutton and Arkush (1996) provide an excellent overview of a broad range of other historic material, although primary sources will typically be provided in the text if the remains require a more detailed analysis.

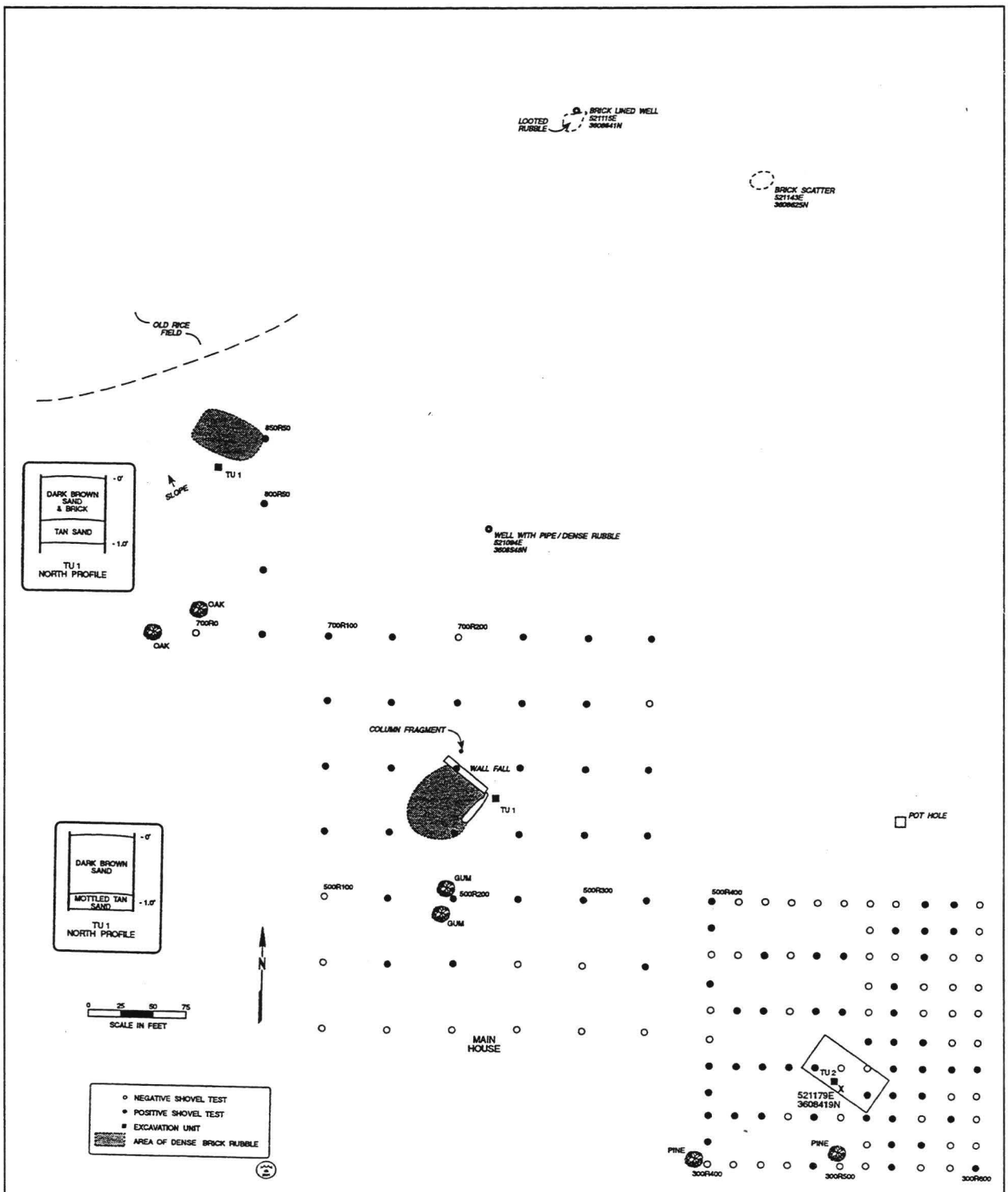

Figure 14. Sketch map of 38BU1907 showing the location of structures and other features, as well as shovel tests and 2-foot units.

Investigations at 38BU1907

This site was found to consist of three distinct structures (Figure 14) oriented northwest to southeast and spread over an area approximately 750 feet in length. The center structure is identified as the main house and at least two wall sections may be vaguely interpreted among the dense brick rubble. To the southeast is a flanker, with all four walls in relatively good condition. To the northwest is a second flanker, although this structure is recognizable only as a mass of brick rubble, with no discernable walls. This northwestern flanker is situated about 50 feet from the edge of what was either a rice field or an interior drainage.

Two wells were identified within the site. One is a brick lined well situated about 525 feet north-northeast of the main house. The closest known structure is about 150 feet to the southeast. This structure is recognized only as a smear of brick rubble, with the quantity suggestive of perhaps only brick piers and chimney. A second well, this one drilled and fitted with a galvanized iron pipe, is situated 200 feet north-northeast of the main house. Surrounding this feature is much rubble appearing contemporaneous with the well itself. An underground galvanized iron pipe runs to the southeast for an undetermined distance.

While additional features of the settlement are likely present, these are the only ones which have been identified thus far. They encompass an area measuring at least 750 feet northwest-southeast by 600 feet southwest-northeast, although the main settlement may turn out to be significantly larger.

The Southeastern Flanker

Of the three structures the most fully investigated is the southeast flanker where a series of 96 shovel tests were excavated. Of these 46 (or 48%) were positive (Figure 14).

The flanker measures 60 by 32.5 feet and the intact walls are laid up in English bond (alternating courses of stretchers or long faces and headers or ends). This type of bond was common during the eighteenth century and creates a strong wall, regardless of thickness, with no cutting or breaking of bricks except those near corners. The walls are about 13 inches in width or 2½ bricks. This is a relatively wide wall, perhaps suggesting a two-story structure or else one built very solidly — meaning that the structure was almost certainly brick, not frame (Figure 15).

The interior of the foundation is about 3 feet lower than the exterior. Shovel tests reveal that sterile subsoil is just slightly more than a foot

Figure 15. Southern corner of the southeastern flanker looking south-southwest.

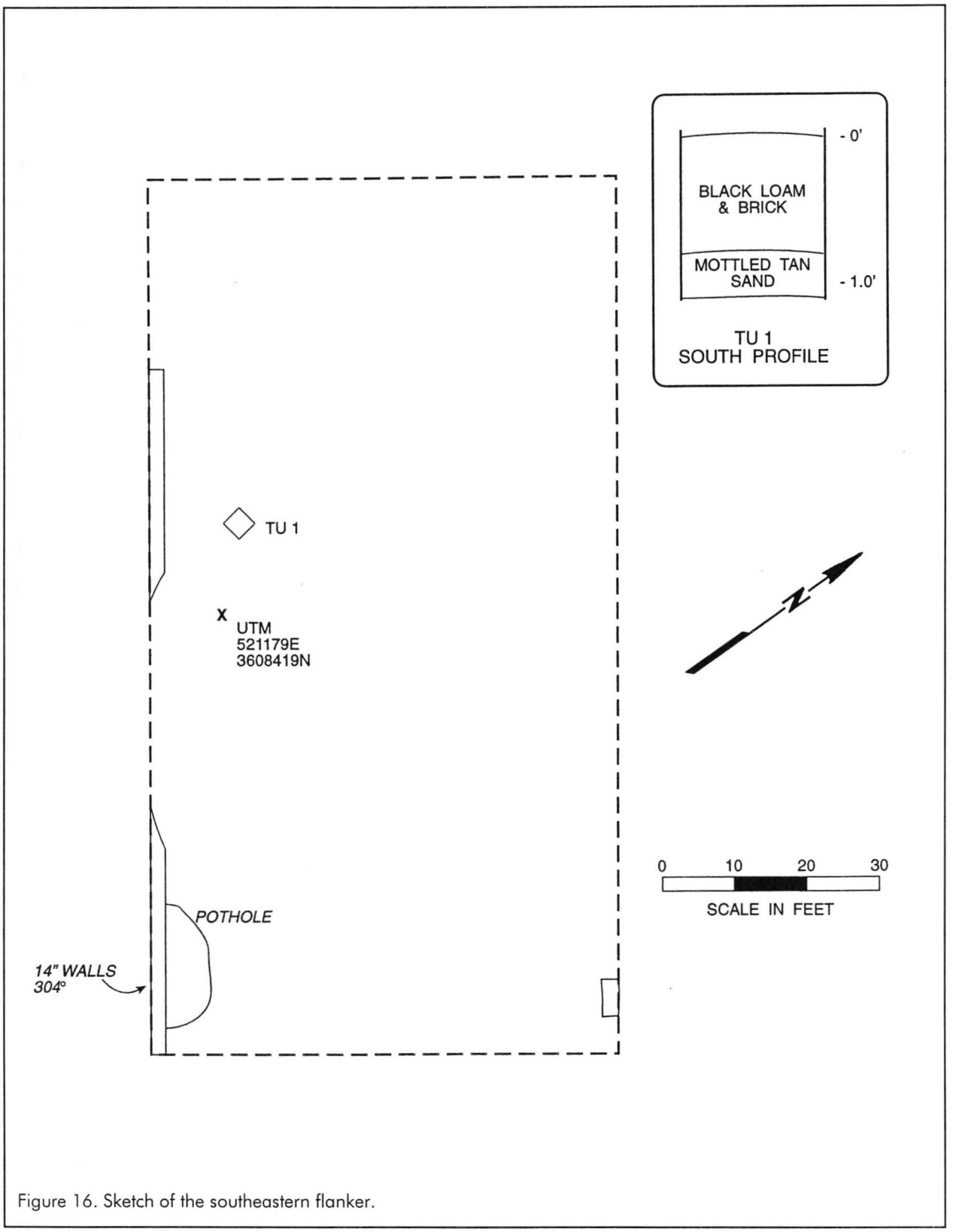

Figure 16. Sketch of the southeastern flanker.

Figure17. Test unit in southeastern flanker looking south.

below grade. This suggests that the building was excavated about 3 to 3.5 feet below grade. This is clearly shown by Figure 17 which illustrates the test unit excavated within this flanker. The upper 0.8 foot consists of dense rubble, while the bottom 0.3 foot consists of mottled tan sand, which likely represents the original basement floor. The upper profile includes not only brick and mortar rubble, but also fragments of plaster, revealing that at least some portion of the structure was well finished.

Careful examination of the structure reveals that at some point the interior brickwork has been very poorly repaired or repointed. The new mortar is a very hard Portland cement mix, indicating that the work was postbellum (this mix was introduced in the 1870s). In a few areas it is possible to obtain samples of the original mortar — a very soft lime with abundant sand. It is likely that this mortar began to degrade, perhaps because of the ground moisture. As a result the brickwork was repointed using a modern mix.

The Main House

While the main house is generally well preserved, it cannot offer the detail found at the southeastern flanker without far more intensive investigations. Previous excavations at the Shoolbred House on Kiawah Island reveal that while much architectural detail can be discerned from structures such as this main house, the effort is very labor intensive — much brick and rubble must be meticulously removed in order to expose underlying intact architectural plans and details. At this site brick, mortar, and plaster rubble is very dense — all attesting to the high status of the dwelling.

From what we are able to understand, the main house measured perhaps 40 by 40 feet — or 1,600 square feet at the first floor "footprint". This is based on the scatter of densest brick rubble and the several lengths of intact wall present. While it remains possible that the wall segments are partial, perhaps representing only a portion of the structure, we believe that this comes close to the actual structure size. Nearby, we found a single column fragment, indicating that somewhere on the structure brick was used to create columns about 1.5 feet in diameter. There is no clear indication of a basement at this structure (or perhaps more certainly, the basement if it existed was at best only partial). Unfortunately the wall segments are also too fragmentary to allow any meaningful interpretation of bonding patterns.

In spite of what we don't know, the few clues uncovered suggest a rather modest house in terms of size, but perhaps more impressive in terms of architectural details. The size and use of brick columns is also suggestive of an eighteenth century construction. The square form would almost certainly require the use of a hipped roof. The size is about the midrange of main houses built between 1725 and 1785, but is at the lower end of those built of brick (Smith 1999:124-125).

Figure 18. Portion of a brick column with stucco found at the main house.

The low basement is also suggestive of an early house, as is the emphasis on brick. All of this may indicate that the house, burned during the American Revolution, received only minor damage and was rebuilt on the same foundation, using the same (or very similar plan) afterwards. Consequently, an early style house likely lasted well into the nineteenth century.

The Bull house — a brick, hipped roof, symmetrical, probably five-bay example — represented a fairly conservative building type that was well understood and clearly representative of the minor gentry in England. While it was most likely refurbished after the Revolution, there doesn't seem to be any clear indication that it changed remarkably. This resistence to change is observed by Smith, who suggests that:

> conservatism is not simply a matter of isolation, or of ignorance of the latest, cosmopolitan fashions. One force for conservatism among provincial or peripheral elites, particularly those in the process of establishing their social status and rights to authority, is a deliberate preference for traditional symbols of power (Smith 1999:373).

In this sense Smith, quoting Edward Chappell, observes, "the patina that old objects acquired after long being held . . . was more powerful than the glitter or new luxuries" (Smith 1999:375).

As a result, the Bull mansion appears to have been held very much as it was originally, well into the nineteenth century. This also highlights the extraordinary research potential of the site — helping us to better understand how architectural tastes did change through time.

A series of 42 shovel tests were excavated in the general vicinity of the main house with 30 (or 71%) being positive. They revealed a range of profiles, although the test unit excavated adjacent to the structure is typical. In this area a dark brown sand was found to a depth of 0.95 foot overlying a relatively thin (0.1 foot) zone of mottled tan sand. The subsoil here, as elsewhere, is a brownish-yellow sand.

The Northwestern Flanker

We know the least about this structure. Only five shovel tests were excavated in this area, although four of these were positive. As previously mentioned the structure is in close proximity to the rice fields or wetlands to the north and the soils here are less well drained than elsewhere. There is also a very noticeable slope to the northwest, into this drainage.

Figure 19. Test unit excavated at the northwestern flanker, looking north.

The site is marked by a dense scatter of brick rubble — again with plaster mixed into the debris — over an area measuring about 45 by 30 feet. A 2-foot unit excavated outside (south of) this rubble revealed about0.65 foot of dark brown sand with brick rubble overlying 0.35 foot of tan sand.

Other Features

The current investigations did not examine either the brick lined well (see Figure 1) or the drilled well. The brick lined well, however, evidences some previous looting efforts, although it is unclear how deep the damage goes. A tremendous amount of glass around the well suggests that the looting went further than the open hole might suggest today. The bulk of the bottles date to the late nineteenth century, although some early nineteenth century wine bottle fragments are also present.

Examination of the brick well would require considerable time and effort to ensure that the work was not only conducted safely, but also did not damage any other, nearby archaeological features. This effort may be worthwhile if future looting cannot be prevented.

It is also unlikely that this well existed in isolation. Somewhere nearby there was a kitchen or other structure which needed water. Additional close interval testing, however, will be required to determine its location and function.

Such a structure was found about 150 feet southeast of the well, evidenced by brick rubble. There may, however, be another even closer structure. This is an area where additional survey is necessary.

The drilled well is clearly later, probably dating to the late nineteenth century. It indicates that at least some portion of the settlement was still in active use after the Civil War. While drilled wells were covered and didn't present an opportunity to be used for refuse disposal, it would be worthwhile to trace out the route of the underground pipe to determine what structure was being supplied water.

Near this well there is much rubble, suggesting that there was a structure. Additional shovel testing is necessary in this area as well as in order to determine the nature of these remains.

Noticeably absent from this discussion is any mention of the early slave settlement. This has not yet been identified. It seems likely, based on other eighteenth century settlements, that it will not be too far from the main settlement and that it will be in the immediate vicinity of the rice fields. Additional survey is necessary to locate the African American settlement, but the task will not be easy. It is likely that the settlement is marked by

Figure 20. Looter's hole showing building materials, bone, and other artifacts discarded.

impermanent architecture, meaning that little or no brick will be found, and the artifacts may be very limited — probably the most common item will be slave-made Colono ware, a low-fired ceramic.

Looting

Looting was noted in several locations at and around the main settlement, perhaps because of its proximity to both Sheldon Church and the nearby public highway. As previously mentioned, the brick lined well has been looted and another loot hole was found about 175 feet northeast of the southeastern flanker (Figure 20). This hole was surrounded by a large quantity of animal bone, as well as some building materials, ceramics, and glass. It is uncertain what type of feature had been looted since it appears that the hole (about 4 by 2 feet, 3 feet in depth) had completely removed the original archaeological deposit. Nevertheless, the quantity of animal bone suggests that it was some type of refuse deposit.

Also present throughout the site area were small (0.5 foot diameter) disturbances that are typical of metal detector use. These disturbances are where some metal artifact was thought to exist and the collector dug a small hole to check out the find. While not causing significant disturbance to the site or its stratigraphy (unlike the hole shown in Figure 20), metal detector enthusiasts are still damaging the site — removing artifacts from their archaeological context. They are also stealing evidence of a heritage which belongs to all of us, converting it to their private ownership.

The problem of looting is significant throughout Beaufort County. While posting the site may help, and prosecution of trespassers would certainly help, perhaps the most effective means of eliminating the problem is to "seed" the site with worthless material. Considerable success can be achieved by spreading copper (pennies) and lead (fishing weights) slugs across the site. The numerous false "positives" obtained by metal detector enthusiasts will make the site unprofitable for them to hunt.

Investigations at 38BU1908 and 38BU1909

Site 38BU1908 was the first investigated and consists of brick rubble at the edge of a field. While at first thought to represent an overseer's residence, the identification of the site on a period map as "Fuller" also suggests that it may represent a secondary structure for the Fuller family.

A series of eight east-west transects were established along the access road, each 25 feet apart. Along those transects a series of six shovel tests were excavated, again at 25 foot intervals

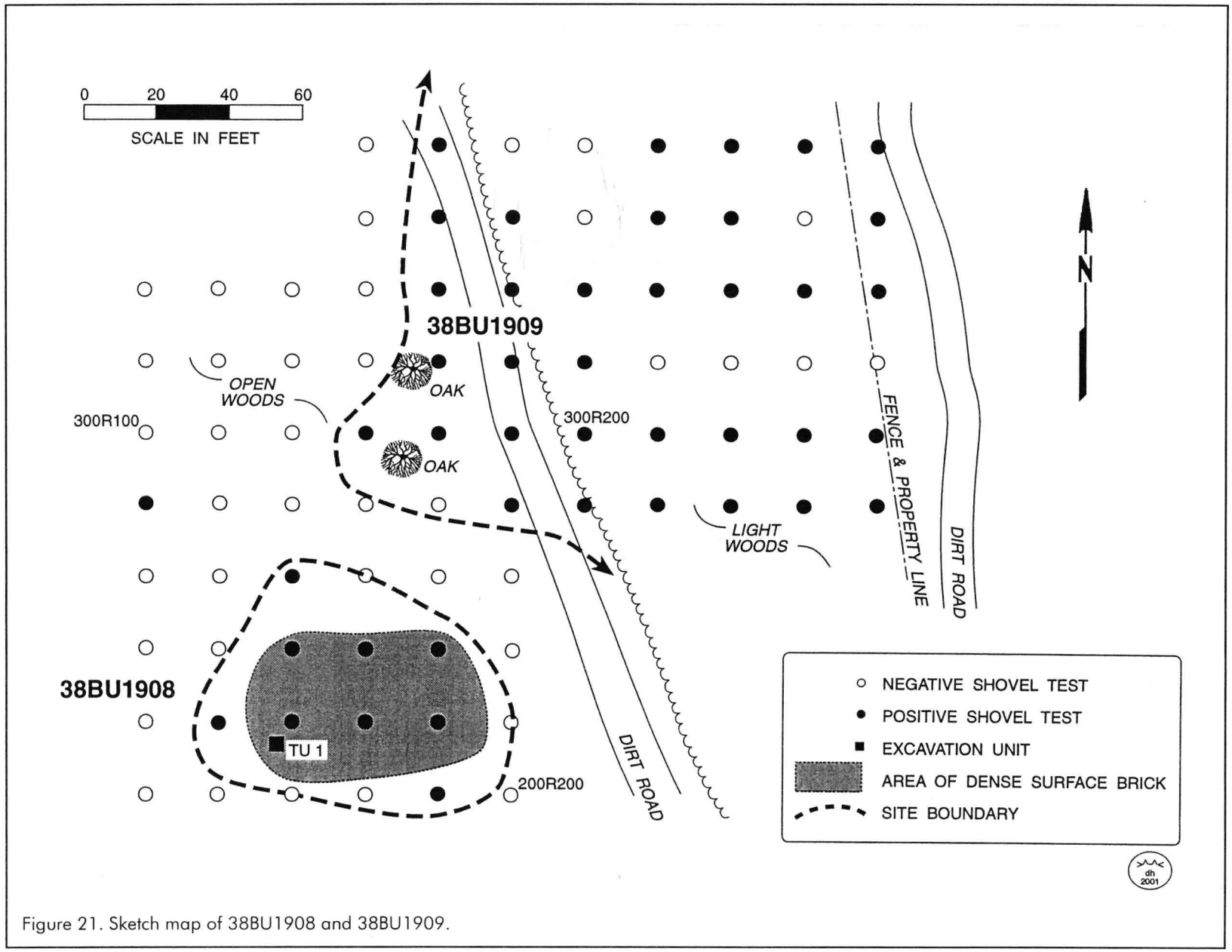

Figure 21. Sketch map of 38BU1908 and 38BU1909.

Figure 22. Test Unit 1 at 38BU1908, view to the north.

(Figure 21). Of the 48 shovel tests 18 (37%) were positive, yielding artifacts. We found, however, that nine of these shovel tests clustered nicely in the area with dense brick rubble. While a single positive shovel test at the western edge of the site seemed to be anomalous and could be dismissed, there were another eight concentrated to the northeast — fairly far removed from the core site area.

These additional shovel tests caused us to begin expanding the shovel test grid to the north and east, in the hope of revealing what was giving rise to the additional remains. As a result an additional 36 shovel tests were excavated, with 23 (or 64%) being positive. These additional tests helped to define what was ultimately identified as 38BU1909.

As shown in Figure 21, it was fairly easy to delimit the boundaries of 38BU1908. Both the shovel tests and the brick scatter suggest that the site is confined to an area measuring about 60 feet north-south by 80 feet east-west (with the actual brick scatter being somewhat smaller). The boundaries of 38BU1909, however, are not nearly as well defined. A segment of the western edge has been determined, but it appears that the site continues to the north and south. Our exploration to the east was limited by the property line, although it seems clear that the site crosses this modern line.

A 2-foot test unit was excavated at the southwest edge of the dense brick rubble of 38BU1908 (Figure 22). This unit revealed 0.3 to 0.4 foot of humic sand overlying 0.2 to 0.5 foot of dense rubble consisting primarily of brick fragments and soft lime mortar. Below this was 0.1 to 0.35 foot of burned materials, including some brick rubble and mortar, but much plaster. At the base of the unit was a mottled tan sand.

This profile reveals that the structure burned (as evidenced by the burn lens), with additional rubble (walls and/or chimney) falling on top of the burned lens afterwards. Finally, years of abandonment have led to the formation of the overlying humic soil.

The quantity and distribution of the brick rubble suggests that the structure had an east-west orientation and was probably of frame construction, with brick forming piers and end chimneys. It is not possible, on the basis of the current evidence, to speculate on whether the structure was one or two stories.

While no similar test unit was excavated at 38BU1909, we did notice that artifacts are present in the dirt farm road for a considerable distance to the south of the site. In contrast, artifact density

diminishes only slightly further to the north. The scatter of remains at the site is consistent with a slave settlement in close proximity to the road, perhaps with cabins on either side of the road for a distance of 200 to 300 feet.

Artifacts

Introduction

What we find at plantation sites like Sheldon usually falls into three groups — those things that were thrown away (perhaps because they were broken or no longer needed), those things that were accidentally lost, and those items which enter the archaeological record through some sort of disaster, such as a fire. For example, a plate is broken and it is taken out to the marsh edge and slung into the muck, or it might be taken to a privy and tossed in. Either way, the goal is to dispose of an object that is broken, worn out, or no longer needed. In contrast, a button pops off a shirt and rolls on the floor until it finds a crack in the floor boards and drops into the soil below the house, or a nail is dropped on the ground in the course of a repair and isn't picked up. In these examples, the artifact enters the archaeological record more or less unintentionally. And finally, a house burns down and whatever is in it is suddenly sealed, creating a type of time capsule.

The various sites at Sheldon include examples of all three types of artifacts. For example, those recovered from shovel testing around the main plantation complex seem to include at least a few items which simply dropped from view (although such items tend to be found in numbers only when very large excavations are undertaken). And the work almost certainly includes a wide variety of ceramics that were broken and just got kicked underfoot. When the settlement at 38BU1908 burned, it created the third type of deposit — a "time capsule" of what was in the house at that particular moment. While some items might have been salvaged later, we can view this zone or deposit a little differently.

Although the public often perceives of archaeologists as having an inordinate interest in other people's trash, this focuses on the object, or the thing. In reality archaeologists are concerned with what this thing — this piece of broken porcelain, for example — can tell us about how people lived. So while the object is studied, the goal of that study is far more exciting: taking those bits and pieces of the past and creating out of them something approaching the reality of everyday life.

To accomplish this goal of bringing the past to life, archaeologists use a variety of analytical methods. One of the first concerns, of course, is to identify all of the various bits and pieces of rubbish. To this end a variety of books on everything from ceramics to period lighting to farm implements are necessary to help us understand the whole object when we have only a small fragment.

Next, these objects must somehow be grouped, or arranged, in a manner that both makes sense and also helps us organize our thoughts about what they mean. One of the most common approaches has been to use the various functional groups of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities developed by Stanley South (1977). These serve to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. In other words, Kitchen Group artifacts include things that might be found in, or used in, a kitchen — ceramics, table glass, serving pieces, and bottles. Architectural artifacts are those associated with buildings — nails, hinges, door locks, and even plaster remains. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach is an excellent choice for Bull's plantation, which is also thought to contain a major eighteenth century component.

But South's artifact groups are useful for more than simply arranging lists of artifacts. When collections from different sites — and different kinds of sites — are compared we can often see differences in the proportions of the different types of artifacts that the occupants possessed. For example, wealthy planters tended to possess more personal artifacts (pocket knives, watches, writing

instruments, and jewelry than did slaves. Archaeologists through time have developed a series of "patterns" for different types of sites and their occupants. Table 1 compares the artifact patterns of four different site types. The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern is often seen at eighteenth and early nineteenth century low country plantations. The Town House Pattern was developed from excavations at the Charleston town houses of wealthy planters and, while similar to the Carolina Artifact Pattern, tends to represent even more wealth and conspicuous consumption.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, which represents the collections typically found at eighteenth century slave sites. The Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern represents nineteenth century slave sites. One of the biggest differences between these last two is the varying proportion of kitchen and architectural items. At eighteenth century slave sites the architecture was very ephemeral and relatively few nails or hinges were present. By the nineteenth century there were different, some say less African inspired, housing forms and the proportion of architectural items, especially nails, increased dramatically.

Table 1.
Previously Published Artifact Patterns (numbers in percents)

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Charleston Townhouse Profile[b]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[c]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[d]
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	58.4	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8
Architecture	25.2-31.4	36.0	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0-0.1
Arms	0.1-0.3	0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	2.8	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7
Clothing	0.6-5.4	0.9	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1-0.2
Activities	0.9-1.7	1.1	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4

[a]Garrow 1982
[b]Zierden and Grimes 1989
[c]Garrow 1982
[d]Singleton 1980

By comparing the collection of artifacts from these Sheldon plantation sites to these previously established patterns we can obtain a better idea of how Bull and Fuller organized their households. Did they live a life, even on his rural plantation, of lavish display or did they live a more secluded life that focused on the management and success of his planting interests? How does his life style at Sheldon compare to the manner planters were living in Charleston? How much better was his lifestyle than that of typical slaves?

Another useful approach for the archaeologist trying to understand how individuals lived is to examine the ceramics they had. We know that many ceramics during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries went through periods where they were available to only the wealthiest, then prices drop and the wares are more widely available, and then, gradually, they fall out of favor.

Some ceramics, however, are of special interest. In particular, porcelains seem to have been a clear status indicator. At Charleston plantations of reduced wealth, such as Elfe (Trinkley 1985:27), Magnolia (Wayne and Dickinson 1990:11-10), and Green Grove (Carrillo 1980:Table 2), porcelains range from about 6% to 9%. At the early nineteenth century Oatland Plantation on the Waccamaw Neck, this drops as low as about 4% (Trinkley 1993a:43). At Drayton Hall, certainly one of the wealthier plantations along the South Carolina low country, porcelains are reported to account for only 9.7% of the European ceramic collection (Lewis 1978:199). At the nearby Archdale Hall Plantation, Zierden et al. (1985:103) report the porcelains account for about 13% of the ceramic

collection. And at Broom Hall Plantation, porcelains account for nearly 20% of the ceramics being used.

In Charleston's townhouses — the social refuge of the wealth planters away from their plantations during the sickly season — Zierden and Grimes (1989:97) observe that porcelains and transfer printed CC wares *combined* account for about 22% of the ceramics. They observe that the quantity of John Rutledge house porcelain, which accounts for 27.6% of the ceramic assemblage, is high even for wealthy households (Zierden and Grimes 1989:95). The Gibbes House, characterizing "Georgian opulence," evidenced an assemblage consisting of 10.6% porcelain (Zierden et al. 1987:76).But why were porcelains so important?

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were times of dramatic social change. And these social changes were intertwined with changes in the way material objects were perceived, and used. A range of events — lowering prices, greater prosperity, increased marketing — all came together at once and spurred the public to spend more lavishly. Material objects — luxuries — that at one time had been available only to the wealthiest and most elite, were suddenly being used by the middle class. Items that had at one time been symbols of the ruling class' power and wealth became more widely available. The result was a race for new symbols. As one author explains, "the elite raced off for new social symbols; the middling ranks galloped after them; even the poorer sorts jogged along, at least to the degree that their economic abilities enabled them" (Martin 1994:171).

Archaeologist James Deetz (1977:60-61) observes that at least by 1780 the porcelain found in colonial inventories is largely limited to "tea sets, and probably demonstrates the adoption of the full-blown English tea ceremony for the first time. This custom can be considered a good indicator of the re-Anglicization process that was at work at the time." Henry Hobhouse (1987) describes this ritual, as well as the ceramics associated with it, "The eighteenth century Europeans, like the Japanese but unlike the Chinese or the Russians, regarded tea making as a ceremony. There was the boiling water, not boiled for too long. There was the specially warmed pot. There was the infusion time. There was the pouring, a little bit of a ceremony all on its own" (Hobhouse 1987:111). This ceremony, and its representations in English art, has been described in detail by Rodris Roth (1961).

In one view, as the middle class became more able to afford (and be willing to pay for) porcelains, the elite "raised the bar." As Martin explained the new rules, "not only must one now own a proper set of accoutrements for smart living, but know a complex set of rules on how to use them " (Martin 1994:171). The eighteenth century ushered in the age of gentility and the English gentry, even those transplanted to Carolina, began to spend inordinate amounts of money to ensure that sons were educated in England and they acquired the finest of the most current tastes.

To this interpretation Richard Waterhouse (1989) adds the structure of values in Carolina society, noting that "the behavior patterns of the wealthy eighteenth-century Carolinians were based on luxurious living and imitation of upper-class English taste and manners" (Waterhouse 1989:103). He suggests the reasons for this "exaggerated imitation of the . . . English gentry" (including the adaption of the tea ceremony) were complex, but seem to involve the high mortality of the new colony, the long-established links between Carolina's elite and the English gentry, the close trading (and economic) ties between the two groups, and the desire for the Carolina elite to establish itself as a ruling class which was rigidly hierarchical and mobility was severely limited. In sum, they sought to protect their status from the rapidly rising middle class.

Waterhouse also contends that the "black majority" of Carolina "deepened the psychological need for South Carolinians to adhere to the normative values of English culture" (Waterhouse 1989:108). The tea ritual, and the associated very expensive imported porcelains were one aspect of this overall process.

Table 2.
Major Types of Datable Pottery at 38BU1907

Porcelain		12	14.4%
Stoneware		16	19.3%
Brown	2		
Blue/Gray	3		
White	9		
Other	2		
Earthenware		55	66.3%
Slipware	5		
Refined	4		
Coarse	1		
Delft	2		
Creamware	11		
Pearlware	20		
Whiteware	9		
Burnt	3		

So at sites such as those at Sheldon we can explore the proportion of porcelains, looking at the forms and types present and try to reconstruct the mind set of the Bull and Fuller families. Did they insist on having only the newest and finest patterns?

But there are additional ways in which archaeologists can look critically at collections. For example, flatwares (plates) will predominate high status tableware collections, especially compared to lower status sites, where "one-pot meals" dominated cooking and there were more hollowware (bowl) forms. Even the decoration of vessels can be used to explore the owner's wealth. Research suggests that wares with transfer printing and hand painting tended, through time, to be more expensive than those with more simple decoration such as annular and edged wares (see Otto 1984:61-65; see also Miller 1980, 1991 for discussions of pricing). Zierden and her colleagues have noted that in the urban setting table glass (expressed as a percent of the Kitchen Group artifacts) is a status indicator. Late eighteenth century townhouse settings may have ranges around 1% to 2.3%, while more middling status sites have ranges under 1%. Although the differences are not as dramatic, this distinction seems to be found on rural plantations as well.

A Few Words of Warning

No archaeological collection is perfect. Not all things that an individual has are thrown away. Not all things that are thrown away are preserved. Not all things that are preserved are recovered. And not all things that are recovered are correctly interpreted. At Sheldon these problems are even more troubling since we have very small collections.

38BU1907 - Bull/Fuller Plantation

The most common types of ceramics found at this site (combining the main house and two flankers) are shown in Table 2. The attentive reader may first note that the proportion of porcelain is high — well within what might be considered the upper range for either plantations or townhouses. This provides an immediate suggestion that the Bulls (and to some degree, perhaps, the later Fullers) were fully participating in the tea ceremonies of the period and seeking to display their wealth. This is certainly consistent with the historic records and Bull's effort to display lavish hospitality after Sunday services at nearby Sheldon Church.

In terms of eighteenth century wares, what is most immediately obvious is that the collection includes few lead glazed slipwares. This ware was a very traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream-colored slip was trailed over an buff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip was then applied before firing. One researcher describes these wares as "Country pottery," emphasizing their modest and unpretentious background. Their rare occurrence at Bull's Sheldon plantation provides yet additional support for the effort to display only the height of taste and elegance.

While not absent, delft is represented by only two examples. This pottery, sometimes known as tin enamel, has a pale yellow or pink body coated with a lead glaze containing tin oxides which turn white in firing. The wares could be painted, most often with a cobalt blue, although a

variety of other colors are also known, before firing. By the late seventeenth century delftware potters were creating mugs, jugs, candlesticks, vases, chamber pots, washbasins, drug pots, and plates. Pseudo-Chinese motifs, human figures, and birds are among the more common design elements that continue into the eighteenth century.

As Noël Hume observes, these delftwares attempted to compete with Chinese porcelains and so Chinese designs begin to dominate the collections by the early eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969a:110-111). While cups quickly lost favor with the public, plates, serving vessels, and punch bowls tended to remain popular into the first few years of the nineteenth century. The available information, however, suggests that Bull wanted nothing to do with imitation "china."

While the first Chinese porcelain to reach America came during the sixteenth century, political upheavals in China eliminated the trade between 1657 and 1683 (Palmer 1976:10). The English were the first to re-open trading offices in China, in the first two decades of the eighteenth century (Vainker 1991:153). During this early period the British traded ginseng for porcelain — in and of itself an interesting story of mercantile greed. American ginseng was gathered by Native Americans for sale to the Dutch Vereenigde Oestindische Compagnie (VOC), which in turn was sold to the British East India Company at a 500% profit. The ginseng was then transported to China where it was held in very high regard to relieve fatigue and infirmities of old age. So greatly was the plant esteemed in China that the native species could be gathered only under the privilege of the Emperor. The American ginseng offered an alternative, although it was prone to gluts and was always seen as inferior to the Chinese species (Millspaugh 1974:277; Schiffer et al. 1980:15).

Through time the trading mainstays turned to silver (never thought of as a particularly good bargain for porcelain) and furs (which lost their appeal by the first quarter of the nineteenth century). Eventually the English traders discovered the substantial demand for opium (Howard 1984:41). By the first quarter of the nineteenth century the opium trade was firmly established, with the British East India Company purchasing about three-quarters of all Chinese exports. Vessels purchased opium in India, sailing on to Canton, where they would weigh anchor just outside the port and trade the opium to smugglers for silver. Only then would the British ships sale into the harbor, claiming they legitimately sought to exchange silver for porcelain (Schiffer et al. 1980:16). During this same period, England imposed a 100% duty on imported porcelain in order to protect their own fledgling porcelain industry. Consequently, most of the Chinese porcelains began shipping directly to the United States, joining America's own Chinese fleet sailing from New York, Baltimore, Salem, Philadelphia, Providence, and Boston. Just as the British East India Company traded opium for porcelain, so too did the Americans, although typical cargoes also included tar, turpentine, rosin, varnish, tobacco, snuff, and furs (Howard 1984:41-46; Palmer 1976:25).

The bulk of the export wares for European trade were the common blue and white porcelains, produced by decorating the bisque porcelain with cobalt prior to firing. While the beginning date for this ware can be quite early, what is seen at most American archaeological sites probably does not predate the English re-opening of the China trade, about 1715. Godden suggests that this style is relatively rare from the 1740s through the 1770s, when overglazed forms were more popular. However, by the 1770s they begin to dominate the collections, remaining popular to at least 1795 (Godden 1979:148). Godden also observes that while production continued well into the nineteenth century, relatively few blue and white dinner services were sent to England after 1800, since British potters had largely captured the market and were beginning to do the same in the United States (Godden 1979:144).

The Sheldon collection is not large, but the blue and white pieces are very common. Overglazes have not been detected, but may exist as additional work is conducted — and larger samples are collected.

English porcelain (typically known among collectors as "soft paste" porcelain) was first made about 1745 at Edward Heylin's glassworks at Bow, Middlesex. Beginning about 1749 the addition of bone ash produced a whiter, more satisfactory paste. It wasn't, however, until the late 1750s or early 1760s that the English potters were able to make a white porcelain that could resist heat changes and allowed their production for tea and coffee. Nevertheless, the English porcelains remained very expensive compared to Chinese wares and wasn't until the nineteenth century that European wares really became a commercially viable product, as opposed to an item of extraordinary luxury (Medley 1976:261).

Present in the Sheldon collection are a few examples of English porcelain, all undecorated.

White salt glazed stoneware accounts for only nine fragments in the Sheldon collection. These wares were more durable than the earlier style delft, which they replaced, and the development of block molds allowed the creation of such intricate relief patterns as "dot, diaper and basket" and "barley." While Noël Hume explains that the evolution of this ware included two earlier versions, Sheldon has thus far revealed only the more lightly glazed wares typical of the mid-century.

These white stonewares were developed in order to produce wares thinner than the delft which might compete with the Chinese porcelains. Although the English potters were successful in accomplishing this goal, they were never very successful in their efforts to embellish the pottery with polychrome *chinoiserie*. As a result, the public grew tired of the ware's stark whiteness (Noël Hume 1970:408).

Archaeologists typically comment that delft lead to white salt-glazed stoneware, which in turn lead to creamware. In part this is correct, although as Noël Hume (1970) reveals, the evolution is far from simple. And while we often note that creamware was developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgewood, it seems likely that it was well on its way at least a decade earlier (Noël Hume 1970:409). In fact, it appears that this earliest creamware had the same body composition as white salt-glazed stoneware, but was fired at a lower temperature and coated with the lead glaze that became yellowish when fired.

Nevertheless, this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide variety of vessel forms and styles. It was adopted by most of the famous English potters of the period. Noël Hume comments that:

> it is safe to assume that whereas creamware straddled the period of the American Revolution, plain white salt-glaze ceased to be imported when the war began, and pearlware started to arrive soon after it ended (Noël Hume 1970:411).

Consequently, creamware is typically given a date range of about 1762 through 1820 (South 1977).

While creamware began, primarily, as plain cream-colored plates, often with a featheredged, royal, or bead-and-reel patterns, other decorative styles did occur — although no examples other than undecorated creamware have thus far been recovered from 38BU1907.

The pearlwares, often considered the intermediate step between creamwares and whitewares, might also be called a whitened creamware, whose glaze contained a small quantity of cobalt, creating the slightly bluish cast or tint which Noël Hume (1969b:390) notes "characterized much of the China Trade porcelain of the period." It originator, Josiah Wedgwood observed that he characterized it as "*change* rather than an *improvement*" intended to help meet the public's increasing boredom with creamware (quoted in Noël Hume 1969b:390).

The Sheldon collection included 20 specimens of this pottery, typically dated between about 1780 and 1830 or 1840 (South 1977). The

most common are the undecorated pearlwares, which like the creamwares might include plates, cups, bowls, chamber pots, and other forms. There were some decorated pearlwares: blue hand painted, blue transfer printed, edged, and annular.

While there were some blue decorations on the earlier creamwares, they were uncommon. As Noël Hume observed:

> for the earthenware pottery who was striving to complete with porcelain, blue on yellow [the base color of creamware] fell far short of the goal, while the man who made creamware for creamware's sake had only to turn to the wares of Thomas Whieldon and Josiah Wedgwood to see that other colors looked better on it (Noël Hume 1969b:392).

Blue on the new pearlware, however, had a completely different look, far more closely approaching the idealized Chinese wares. At first blue was the only color used. The hand painted motifs were typically limited to a pseudo-Chinese design consisting of a house, a fence, and a tree or two. Sometimes some mountains would be added, or some additional arboreal features, but the motifs were limited.

Far more common, at least initially, were the pearlware plates decorated with blue (or sometimes green) around their shell edges. Appearing about 1779 or 1780, these edged wares had an extraordinarily long life, lasting a half-decade. Initially these plates were favored by the wealthy and they were carefully decorated, with the brush strokes being carried toward the center of the plate, so that a truly "feathery" effect was achieved. Through time the plates fell from grace and the careful application of the paint was modified to a mere strip around the edge.

Although transfer printing began with creamware (or perhaps even earlier), it was far more common on the new pearlwares. A copper plate was engraved with the screen, inked, and then a paper was applied to the copper plate to pick up the ink. This paper was, in turn, applied to the bisque to transfer the ink to the pearlware. In well executed examples the fine dots of the copper plate engraving can still be plainly seen. Afterwards the plate was glazed, and fired. The production of transfer printed wares took considerable skill and, as a result, the transfer printed designs were among the most expensive of the pearlwares (Miller 1980, 1991).

Pearlware gradually evolved into whiteware between about 1820 and 1830. The paste continues to become harder, although it is again the glaze which is most distinct. The blue tint of pearlware is lost and whitewares have a clear glaze, often deeper than pearlware. Curiously, however, Wedgwood's factory was still making pearlware in 1865, at which time Llewellynn Jewitt remarked that it was "not 'a pearl of great price,' but one for ordinary use and of moderate cost" (quoted in Noël Hume 1969b:396). Nevertheless, by about 1830 pearlware had become almost entirely replaced by whiteware in America and it was likely being acquired by the Fullers.

The whitewares account for only nine specimens, most of those being undecorated. Also present are both blue and non-blue transfer printed — still indicative of considerable wealth.

Another relatively significant collection is that of nails, including both hand wrought and machine cut. The hand wrought nails were individually forged by blacksmiths, either in America or England. The wrought nail shank can be distinguished from machine cut nails (introduced about 1780) by their taper on all four sides, instead of only two (see Howard 1989:54; Nelson 1968). These nails, while largely replaced by machine cut nails at the beginning of the nineteenth century, continued in specialized use far longer. In contrast, the machine cut nails were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, tapering the nail along its length on only two, instead of all four, sides. Although this machinery was invented in the 1780s, nails

Table 3.
Mean Ceramic Date for Sheldon (38BU1907)

			NW Flanker		Main House		SE Flanker	
Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi	(fi)	fi x xi
Overglaze enameled porcelain	1800-1830	1815	1	1815	4	7260	4	7260
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758			6	10548	3	5274
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	1	1733	3	5199	1	1733
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750			1	1750	1	1750
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	3	5373	8	14328		
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800			1	1800	1	1800
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818			3	5454		
edged	1780-1830	1805	2	3610	2	3610		
annular/cable	1790-1820	1805			1	1805		
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	1	1805	8	14440	1	1805
Whiteware, blue trans print	1831-1865	1848			2	3695		
non-blue trans print	1826-1875	1851			1	1851		
undecorated	1820→	1860			6	11160		
			8	14336	46	82901	11	19622
			1792.0		1802.2		1783.8	

produced by machine were slow to reach the South, not becoming widely available until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Lounsbury (1994:107) suggests that the most widely available variety from the 1790s through the early 1820s were those whose heads were still hand forged (that is, a machine cut nail with a hand forged head). After about 1815 machines capable of both cutting and heading the nails were introduced and hand forged heads gradually declined in significance.

Perhaps the best, overall, means of dating the site is to examine the ceramics. Table 2 provides a mean ceramic date for the three collections, revealing dates ranging from 1784 through 1802.

If we assume that the plantation was established ca. 1734 by William Bull (allowing two years for the construction of the settlement after its purchase in 1732) and continued more or less uninterrupted to the death of Henry M. Fuller in 1904, a mean historic date for the plantation would be 1819 — which seems far too late for the archaeological evidence.

On the other hand, if we assume that the Bull plantation house ceased to be used shortly after the Civil War, perhaps with the death of Dr. Henry Middleton Fuller in 1872, then the mean historic date would be 1803 — which is certainly closer to the archaeological evidence.

In fact, some of the archaeological evidence suggests that at least portions were abandoned — or at least saw little use — after the Civil War. If the terminal period of use is estimated to be 1860, then the mean historic date becomes 1797.

With the small collections it seems unlikely that we will be able to more closely identify the period of the plantation's use. Nevertheless, what we have seen with the available information suggests that Bull established the plantation shortly after he purchased it in 1732 and that activities at the main settlement declined dramatically immediately after the Civil War.

Early in our discussions we mentioned that South's artifact groups could be examined to help us better understand the differences in the

Table 4.
Artifact Pattern Analysis for Sheldon Plantation (38BU1907).

	Main House		NW Flanker		SE Flanker	
Kitchen Group	117	49.8%	58	84.1%	35	51.5%
Ceramics	42		14		12	
Colono ceramics	17		2		3	
Glass	51		42		20	
Tablewares	1					
Kitchenwares	1					
Architectural Group	108	46.0%	11	15.9%	31	45.6%
Window glass	14		3		1	
Construction hardware	4					
Cut nails	52				8	
Cut nail frags.	9					
Hand wrought nails	4		5		6	
Hand wrought nail frags.	2				4	
UID nails	23		3		12	
Furniture Group	1	0.4%	0	-	0	-
Furniture hardware	1					
Arms Group	0	-	0	-	0	-
Tobacco Group	5	2.1%	0	-	1	1.5%
Tobacco pipe stems, 5/64	3				1	
Tobacco pipe bowl frags.	2					
Clothing Group	1	0.4%	0	-	0	-
Buttons						
Other clothing	1					
Personal Group	0	-	0	-		
Activities Group	3	1.3%	0	-	1	1.5%
Tools						
Fishing gear						
Storage items						
Stable and barn items						
Misc. hardware						
Other	3				1	

proportions of the different types of artifacts present at sites.

Table 4 illustrates the artifact pattern identified from Sheldon, based on our shovel tests. The pattern from the main house and the southeastern flanker are very close to one another, while the pattern from the northwestern flanker stands in stark contrast. This may be a result of the difference in sample size, or it may reflect a fundamental difference in the activities which took place at the northwestern flanker — only additional investigations will resolve this.

What we do see, however, is that the main house and southeastern flanker have a pattern similar to what is defined as the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, characteristic of eighteenth century British domestic sites. The only significant difference is that the architectural remains are more common than one would expect, more closely resembling the Charleston Townhouse profile. While it is possible that we are simply being mislead by the small samples, these findings

Table 5.
Artifact Pattern Analysis for 38BU1908.

Kitchen Group	34	29.6%
Ceramics	42	
Glass	33	
Architectural Group	76	66.1%
Window glass	6	
Cut nails	42	
Cut nail frags.	6	
UID nails	22	
Furniture Group	0	-
Arms Group	0	-
Tobacco Group	0	-
Clothing Group	0	-
Personal Group	0	-
Activities Group	5	4.3%
Tools		
Fishing gear		
Storage items		
Stable and barn items		
Misc. hardware		
Other	5	

may also suggest that the main house and flanker were rich in architectural detailing — like townhouses — and that this is reflected in the archaeological record.

In contrast, the northwestern flanker most closely matches the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, typically found at eighteenth century slave settlements. We tend to discount this similarity since so few shovel tests were excavated at the site and none were actually within the immediate brick rubble zone, where architectural remains might be most common.

38BU1908 - Fuller Settlement

The collection from this site consists of 115 specimens, although only one datable ceramic is present — a fragment of an alkaline glazed stoneware. This material, while lacking a mean date, is typical of the nineteenth century. The collection, overall, is similar. No hand wrought nails are present, while machine cut nails are common. Container glass is also common — suggestive of a nineteenth century date.

So while we have no conclusive proof of the age of this structure, it is consistent with a nineteenth century dwelling and this, in turn, is consistent with the historic documentation.

The pattern analysis, weighted heavily toward architectural remains, is within the limits defined for the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern, except that the Activities Group is far higher than should be found at a slave site. The assemblage does not seem consistent with that of a planter — although it might be if the planter were of very reduced economic circumstances. Alternatively, we may be seeing a pattern consistent with an overseer — someone of middling or lower economic status in white society.

38BU1909 - Slave Settlement

The slave settlement produced 32 artifacts from the shovel tests and an additional 34 specimens from the surface collection. Combined, they yield a collection which seems far more similar to the main Bull/Fuller settlement than to the later, nearby structure.

Table 6 reveals that the ceramics present in the collection include some eighteenth century specimens, including white salt-glazed stonewares and lead glazed slipware, although the bulk of the collection consists of creamware and pearlware. Noticeably absent are whitewares, suggesting that the settlement was abandoned prior to about 1813. In other words, the settlement may date primarily from the mid-eighteenth through late eighteenth century — the height of the Bull family activities at Sheldon. The mean ceramic date for the collection is 1788.6, perhaps pushing the occupation through the tenure of the elder Thomas Fuller, who died in 1830. If this is the case, it appears that the slave settlement received no new ceramics during the 1820s and 1830s, perhaps "making do" with the discards from the main plantation settlement as the Fuller's enjoyed new

Table 6.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38BU1909

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	# (fi)	fi x xi
Overglaze enameled porcelain	1660-1800	1730	4	7260
White SGSW	1740-1775	1758	3	5274
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3466
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	8	14328
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	1	1805
blue transfer printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
undecorated	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
			21	37561
				1788.6

Table 7.
Artifact Pattern Analysis for 38BU1909.

Kitchen Group	48	72.7%
Ceramics	24	
Colono ware	3	
Glass	20	
Tableware	1	
Architectural Group	7	10.6%
Window glass	1	
Cut nail frags.	1	
Hand wrought nails	1	
Hand wrought nail frags	1	
UID nails	3	
Furniture Group	0	-
Arms Group	0	-
Tobacco Group	9	13.6%
Tobacco pipe stems, 5/64	3	
Tobacco pipe stems, UID	1	
Tobacco pipe bowl frags.	5	
Clothing Group	1	1.5%
Buttons	1	
Personal Group	0	-
Activities Group	1	1.5%
Tools		
Fishing gear		
Storage items		
Stable and barn items		
Misc. hardware		
Other	1	

whitewares, which were displacing the older style pearlwares. This may help explain why transfer printed and hand painted pearlwares are found in the slave settlement.

Table 7 provides a list of the different artifact groups in the collection. The collection most closely resembles the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, characteristic of eighteenth century slave sites with impermanent architecture. In fact, the architectural component at 38BU1909 is slightly lower than might be expected, perhaps because over half of the collection came from surface remains (which again tend to select for nails). In addition, the proportion of tobacco remains is higher than would be expected. This may reflect a behavioral difference at this particular slave settlement or it may simply be a result of the small sample size. Regardless, the collection does appear to be consistent with a slave settlement, as originally projected based on the dispersion of the remains and their location near the rice fields.

Summary

To briefly recount, although only a limited amount of work was possible at these three sites, they are beginning to tell their story.

At the main settlement at least two of the three structures are very similar in their suspected date range and also in the types of artifacts present. The third structure seems anomalous only because of the relatively small sample size. They were all likely built during the occupation of William Bull, perhaps being renovated after the American Revolution, and probably were abandoned during the late nineteenth century or very early twentieth century. The remains are suggestive of a lavish display of wealth and prestige.

The slave settlement was likely used during the same period as the main house, representing primarily a settlement of slaves during the Bull years, although the settlement may have continued

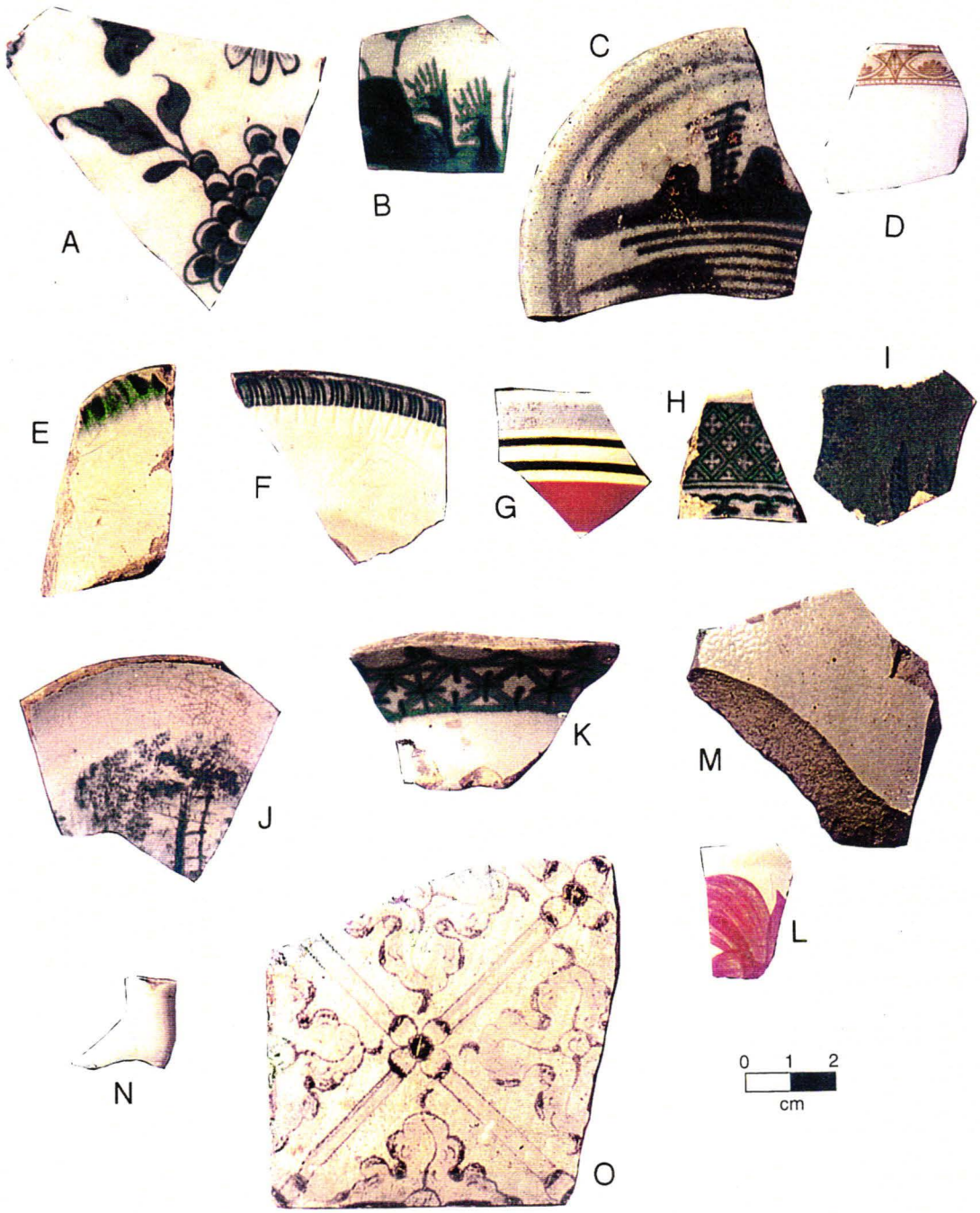

Figure 23. Artifacts collected from the vicinity of Sheldon Plantation (38BU1907). A-C, blue on white Chinese porcelain; D, English porcelain with a hand painted overglaze decoration; E, edged creamware; F, edged pearlware; G, annular pearlware; H-J, blue transfer printed pearlware; K, blue hand painted whiteware; L, polychrome hand painted whiteware; M, salt-glazed stoneware; N, bisque doll's foot; O, delft tile, probably from fire place surround.

to the death of Thomas Fuller the senior. Yet undiscovered on the plantation is a slave settlement for the bulk of the Fuller tenure. This settlement should be recognizable by a large quantity of whitewares.

The final settlement, shown on some maps as "Fuller," appears to be a relatively small, low status dwelling. It may represent one of the Fuller brothers, or it may be an overseer's dwelling. It does not, however, appear to be contemporaneous with the nearby slave settlement.

SUMMARY

Historical Synopsis

The historic documents for Bull Plantation are not nearly as abundant as they might be. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine that William Bull acquired the property in 1732 and likely had built a plantation settlement within several years. The elder Bull died in 1755 and the plantation was distributed to his grandson, Stephen Bull, who continued to live at what was by that time called Sheldon. Like his grandfather before him, Stephen was well known for his displays of conspicuous consumption.

During the American Revolution, Sheldon was burned, although the extent of the damage is not documented. Although Stephen Bull's economic condition after the Revolution makes it unlikely that he would have had the funds to undertake a significant construction project, it may be that the damage to the mansion was far more limited than originally thought.

In fact, it seems entirely plausible that the damage was minor. There are two Charles Fraser sketches (both owned by The Charleston Museum, but on long-term loan at the Gibbes Art Museum). They likely date between ca. 1790 and 1806 and show Sheldon Plantation intact.

One, "Sheldon from Hoospeh Causeway," shows a two story brick plantation house with a pyramidal or hipped roof and two chimneys. Surrounding the plantation, which appears to be on a hill or slight elevation, are woods. To the right is water and in the foreground is a creek and what are perhaps tidal marsh or rice fields. The view may be from the still extant Old Sheldon Road causeway just southeast of the plantation house.

The other, untitled only "Sheldon," also views the plantation from a causeway, lined by trees and a neat fence. To the right of the causeway is impounded water. To the left is an embankment which seems to slope down into a lower waterway. On the right side of the sketch is Sheldon, again shown as a two-story brick building with a pyramidal roof and two internal chimneys. To the left side of the sketch are the ruins of Sheldon Church — which was burned during the Revolution.

These drawings seem to clearly indicate that the plantation was in good repair. Moreover, they suggest a fairly typical compact plan with symmetrical massing. Big, square brick boxes such as these, according to Smith are "from the age of Pratt and Coleshill, not of Campbell and the Anglo-Palladian villa" (Smith 1999:109).

By 1790 Stephen Bull was entirely insolvent and he died, a poor man, sometime between 1795 and 1800. Prior to the collapse of Bull's lifestyle, the Sheldon Plantation was likely a significant producer of cash crops — probably rice. It is likely that the plantation included a number of slaves and that Bull retained an overseer to handle the daily activities of the tract.

Although the records to make a certain statement were destroyed, it seems likely that Sheldon was acquired by Thomas Fuller in 1801 — probably through an auction of Bull's property. Fuller likely continued the same focus on rice. The property passed from Thomas Fuller to his son, Rev. Richard Fuller, who in 1867 sold the plantation to his brother Dr. Henry M. Fuller.

However, even prior to the sale, maps suggest that there were two Fuller residences — one at Bull's Sheldon and another about a mile to the east. Throughout the antebellum the plantation, as near as we can tell from the surviving agricultural census records, continued its focus on rice cultivation, although sizeable

quantities of cotton were also raised. By the antebellum this diversification was not uncommon, with the cotton being planted every other year on the drained ricelands.

Archaeological Evidence

When we add the archaeological evidence to the historical documentation we begin to see some significant congruencies. For example, at the Bull settlement, 38BU1907, we find a main house that was, in fact, brick, and which was roughly square — certainly the dimensions are suitable for a hipped roof. There is also evidence of some high style architecture, such as the existence of columns. There is also abundant plaster, documenting a well finished interior.

The main plantation settlement also yields a mean ceramic date of 1802, indicating a historic range from William Bull through much of the Fuller occupation. While postbellum occupation may have been limited (by that time the plantation house would have been nearly 150 years old), antebellum occupation is relatively well documented by pearlwares and whitewares. Similarly, the two flankers were likely maintained and used by Fullers through at least the end of the Civil War.

When the artifact pattern is examined for the main settlement there is good evidence, from at least the main house and one of the two flankers, for a pattern typical of relatively high status British domestic occupation.

Turning to the second Fuller settlement, 38BU1908, a very different structure is seen based on the archaeological record. At this site the brick rubble is suggestive only of piers and chimney remains, with the structure itself being of frame construction. The artifacts, too, are very different. Not only is the site almost certainly later, but the artifact pattern seems to suggest a much lower status occupation. Perhaps the site is the dwelling of an overseer, or perhaps a less wealthy member of the Fuller family — and of course the two are not mutually exclusive. There are cases where sons or nephews served as the overseer.

The archaeological study also explored what almost certainly is a slave settlement, dating from William and Stephen Bull and perhaps as late as Thomas Fuller. The settlement, however, does not appear to have continued into the mid or late antebellum — meaning that at least one additional slave settlement must be located somewhere on Prescott Plantation. Site 38BU1909 probably contains very ephemeral dwellings. Slave structures of that time period were almost always ground fast, of frame or even daub construction, sometimes lacking even internal fireplaces and chimneys.

Finally, there are two cemeteries currently known for Prescott Plantation. One, near the slave settlement, appears to be the older of the two and may well have begun with the burial of Bull's slaves and continued into the early twentieth century. Called Walnut Hill, this graveyard was eventually replaced by a second, situated in the middle of a cultivated field.

It is virtually certain, based on this limited research, that all five sites are eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Sheldon Plantation (38BU1907) is likely eligible under Criteria B (association with a famous individuals — William and Stephen Bull) and D (information potential) at a state level of significance. The presence of above grade features, abundant architectural remains, and at least some accompanying historical documentation would allow this site to address a broad range of significant research questions addressing the lifeways of the wealthy Carolina elite. In particular, Sheldon can be compared to a range of plantations from the same time period, such as the Goose Creek Broom Hall (Trinkley et al. 1995) or the St. Helena Roupelmond Plantation (Trinkley and Hacker 1999).

The smaller Fuller residence, 38BU1908, is recommended eligible under Criterion D (information potential) at the local level of significance. Our knowledge of middling status occupations is sparse and the importance of this site is significantly greater since it is possible to compare and contrast it with that of the Bull main

settlement and slave settlement.

The Bull slave settlement, 38BU1909, is recommended eligible for the National Register under Criterion D (information potential), also at the local level of significance. Our knowledge of eighteenth century slave life in the Beaufort area, particularly in the interior areas such as this, is very limited. Having the ability to compare and contrast the slave settlement to the main plantation provides an exceptional dimension and depth to the research.

Finally, the two African American cemeteries are both recommended eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria C (distinctive characteristics) and D (information potential). The cemeteries are characteristic of African American graveyards of this period and their probable temporal sequence is of special interest. It is likely that the cemeteries could provide exceptional bioanthropological data concerning diet, disease, and health of rural African American populations. The use of the cemeteries over a very long period provides critical diachronic data. It is also likely that the cemeteries could provide information on mortuary customs, such as the use of different coffin hardware.

Questions Which Remain

These discussions reveal that while the historical and archaeological investigations have provided a unique glimpse of a very special archaeological complex, there remain a variety of unanswered questions.

Additional investigations at the Bull Plantation would allow us to not only better understand the lifeways of William Bull and his grandson Stephen, but also answer a variety of specific questions about the plantation. What was the extent of damage from the British attack during the American Revolution? What modifications were made during renovations? What were the functions of the various buildings? How long were the various buildings used? Where were the refuse disposal areas? Where were additional buildings, such as the kitchen? What can be detected of the plantation layout?

These questions, however, would require months of very intensive archaeological investigations and would cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. And the site is not threatened, so such work has no immediacy.

The second Fuller residence is a much smaller site and investigation would require much less time — days or weeks instead of months, for example. Yet the questions remain significant. What is the function of the site (is it an overseer's house)? When was it built and abandoned? Who lived here? Where did they dispose of their trash? How (and when) did the structure burn? And certainly, what did this structure look like?

Similar questions are appropriate for the slave settlement. When was it constructed? When was it abandoned? What did the structures present there look like? How did these slaves live — what was their diet, what sorts of household goods did they possess, how common were slave-made Colono wares? Is there evidence of yard activity areas? While it seems likely that the site could address these questions, the process is made more difficult by the slave settlement being divided between two different land owners. Nevertheless, at 38BU1909 the questions might require several months of intensive investigation, examining in detail several of the structures.

Research at the two cemeteries — even if they are not threatened — might appropriately focus on collecting oral history. This would involve speaking to the local black community to find the older individuals who remember these graveyards and who can provide information on the families buried there, as well as stories on actual burial practices. There is typically a very rich oral history surrounding graveyards in the African American community, but too often this history is not sought. Through time it becomes lost and this would be a tragedy at Sheldon.

While all of these research questions are exceedingly important, it is appropriate to again explain that the sites are not threatened by their

owner or his actions. Consequently, of far greater importance are steps which might help protect the sites. Since Mr. Minis has no intention of damaging the sites and they are not in parts of the plantation which might be unknowingly damaged by silvacultural activities, the primary threat is from site looters and those using metal detectors.

The greatest protection from these individuals, regrettably, is vigilance — keeping a constant watch on the site. Efforts such as posting and fencing will only deter those who pose the least threat. There are many more which do not respect trespass laws. It may be appropriate to "seed" the site, scattering large quantities of copper and lead slugs in order to confuse metal detectors and cause collectors to spend inordinate amounts of time retrieving worthless materials.

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